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FBIS-EEU-92-139 *20 July 1992*

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Bosnia-Hercegovina

After arriving in Sarajevo amid artillery fire, Milan Panic, FRY prime minister, met with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, for over two and a half hours on 19 July, Sarajevo radio reports. Panic said: "I am slightly tired of trying to convince Izetbegovic that all three sides are to blame for the war and that it does not matter to what extent the sides are responsible. We agreed that weapons in the hands of both sides around Gorazde should be put under UN control." Commenting on the Gorazde situation, Izetbegovic stated: "He even suggested that we make a joint trip to Gorazde and said that our arrival would stop the war in Gorazde. I concluded from this that he is not a well-informed man."

After implementation of the London cease-fire agreement, Major Andrew Venus, a UN spokesman, said on 20 July that flights to Sarajevo airport have been "suspended...because of the proximity of shelling."

Czechoslovakia

Prague radio reports that during CSFR President Vaclav Klaus' resignation speech, he stated: "I have decided to take this step after careful consideration. I have arrived at the decision where I see that I can no longer fulfill the obligations of the oath of loyalty to the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic and its Constitution in a way that would be compatible with my nature, convictions, and conscience."

Yugoslavia

Federal—TANJUG reports that Douglas Hurd, UK foreign secretary, arrived in Belgrade on 17 July. During his visit, Hurd met with numerous Serbian leaders. Following his meeting with Milan Panic, FRY prime minister, and Slobodan Milosevic, Serbian president, Hurd said "that he prefers to remain a realist rather than an optimist, since, as he said, there remains a danger of a fresh explosion" in Bosnia and Kosovo. "I consider very important the assurances which I received in Zagreb and in Belgrade, that Croatia and Serbia will respect the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Romania

Following seven hours of talks on 19 July, BTA reports that the Municipality of Greater Sofia and striking transport workers "signed an agreement on wages, working conditions, and job security."

UK Foreign Secretary Discusses Cooperation

AU1907170792 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Text] Anglo-Albanian relations were placed on sound and practical foundations today after a long interruption. Today's visit to Tirana by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd once again expressed mutual understanding in this direction.

Hurd conducted talks with Prime Minister Meksi and President Berisha this morning, and held a news conference in Kruje where top-level Albanian personalities joined him for lunch.

During their talks, Meksi described the current situation and the problems of carrying out the economic reform that is preoccupying the country. He outlined the necessity of organized short-term emigration as a way of alleviating the economic situation.

Hurd also expressed ideas about cooperation in tourism, oil, chemical and mining industries, and agriculture.

In connection with the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, Berisha said that Albania's policy on maintaining borders is unswerving. He also expressed great anxiety at the spread of the conflict by the army commanded by Belgrade, and stressed that the problem of Kosovo must be solved by talks mediated by a third party. The status to be discussed for Kosovo must not in any way be inferior to that ensured for the Kosovar people by the 1974 Constitution.

Hurd said that the problem of Kosovo was included in the talks between Lord Carrington and the high-level Kosovar leaders. He also assured Berisha that he will increase pressure on Serbia to make the Pristina-Belgrade talks successful, adding that moderation is also necessary on the Albanian side.

Berisha Meets With European Parliament Delegation

AU1807152692 Tirana ATA in English 0804 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Tirana, July 18 (ATA)—The delegation of the European Parliament led by Mr. Aleksander Langer had a meeting on July 17 with the president of the Republic, Sali Berisha. After evaluating the valuable contribution to our country by this organism, Mr. Berisha concentrated on the institutional reform, setting up of democratic institutions, full observation of the human rights and freedoms. Democracy does not mean abuse with freedom, violation of laws, opposition to the reform, Mr. Berisha said. It is true that Albanians have linked these terms together, he continued, because they cannot exist without each other. Democratic forces here are using freedom in the power to construct democracy, democratic society, to realize the economic reform, which since this summer is yielding its undeniable fruits. It is true that the land remained untilled because of the sluggishness of the government of stability, but in spring the land was sown and now peasants are selling products at prices they have never thought they will be allowed to. This liberalization of prices in agriculture allows them not only to be able to buy the nonagricultural products at high prices, but to ensure incomes and to improve their life. But, first of all, liberalization of prices in agriculture is serving and will serve as a powerful impetus for work and production, which will lead to a larger agricultural production. To the realization of this objective will serve also great investments being made in agriculture. Credits are ensured over these three months to buy tractors, cultivators and other necessary means. A pending problem in agriculture is the question of farms, their transformation into enterprises of interest.

One of the first acts we undertook with regard to production enterprises was the lifting of 80 percent wage. After the lifting of 80 percent wage which ruined more than any other thing the economy of Albania, the government, thanks to the great aid of the democratic countries and institutions, managed to ensure enough credits for raw material for all enterprises. It is an undeniable fact that the dominant part of enterprises has resumed work. The bank will give them capital for work and will discuss with them the debts they already have. Hence, reform in Albania has begun and despite the difficult conditions, we shall continue that as the only way of salvation and construction of democratic society. But I want to emphasize that the antidemocratic forces, especially the group with privileges in the old regime, is using freedom to realize illegal acts, through which they seek to destabilize the order. They defend criminals,through slanders and deceits they want to cause turbulences, they provoke limited illegal strikes for the 80 percent wage. In all these cases we are resolute to observe the law, which is democratic and it serves democracy only when it is strictly applied.

Mr. Langer stressed that support of democracy and of democratic processes in Albania on the part of the European Parliament has been and will continue to exist also in the future.

Further on he valued as of great importance the visits of President Berisha in Brussels and the European Parliament. Then President Berisha and Mr. Langer dwelt on the questions of Kosovo. The population of Kosovo, Mr. Langer, said should be treated with justice, the Kosovars should enjoy their rights to language, school and that the solution of the questions of Kosovo should be realised through negotiations, peaceful ways and the human rights should be observed, etc.

At the end Mr. Langer aired to Mr. Berisha the readiness of the European Parliament to support Albania.

Meksi Outlines Economic Policy

AU1807152792 Tirana ATA in English 0814 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Tirana, July 18 (ATA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dr. Aleksander Meksi received at the seat of the Council of Ministers on July 17 before noon the group of European parliamentarians led by Aleksander Langer.

Premier Meksi, after a short expose of the economic and political situation in Albania, said among others that over these 3 months we have done much and little. We have made a great deal for democratic transformation of the society, for legislation but we have to do a lot still for the difficult economic conditions of the country. The economy will resume its activity based on foreign aid, which should not be only humanitarian, but also for raw material. Hence, the G-24 [Group of 24] meeting to be held in Tirana this month, will determine concrete aid and fields of their application in our country. Bearing in mind the economic conditions, now in the first steps we are forced to have a centralized structure of the economy.

Mr. Meksi stressed further a progress in the application of law on land. So far 80 percent of the area has been delivered. The process of privatization is based also on the agreement with the International Monetary Fund, from which we have taken the necessary financial guarantee to march surely.

On his part, Mr. Langer thanked the premier for the expose and said that in various meetings they have had these days they have learned a great deal of your difficulties but they feel happy that democracy in Albania is coming peacefully.

In response to the interest of the European parliamentarians, Premier Meksi stressed that Albania has not yet a law on the press. TV and mass media depend on the parliament, parties, associations, etc. Now we are working to compile a new law on the press. In regard to the sentence of death, Mr. Meksi explained that such sentences are made according to the law and are result of the people's pressure to punish the grave crimes, whereas with regard to relations of the government with the trade unions, he said we are demanding continuous dialogue with them. Concerning investments on tourism, Mr. Meksi briefed the European parliamentarians with the fact that a plan had been drafted in cooperation with the Bank for Reconstruction and Development which will coordinate the development of tourism in Albania. After the approval of this legal act, Albania will have possibilities for investments on tourism.

Serreqi Discusses Kosovo

AU1807152892 Tirana ATA in English 0859 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Tirana, July 18 (ATA)—On July 17, Alfred Serreqi, Albanian foreign minister, received the European parliamentarians' delegation, headed by Aleksander Langer.

Mr. Serreqi presented an overview of the democratic process in our country and appreciated the aid of the European Community to consolidate democracy in Albania and promote these processes.

Mr. Langer said he was sure that Albania will integrate soon to the big European family.

Answering the questions put by the other members of the delegation, Mr.Serreqi spoke on the crucial state of the Albanians living in Kosovo and others residing in their territories in ex-Yugoslavia. Europe has realized by now that the problems of the Balkans cannot be solved without the solution of the Kosovo issue. There is delay on the part of diplomacy to prevent conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina and demanded the immediate end of this conflict, otherwise, a cruel army as the Serb one would commit a bloody massacre in the Albanian territory of Kosova. There are political chances for the correct solution of this question, said Mr. Serreqi.

Trade Minister Returns From Visit to Germany

AU1807153092 Tirana ATA in English 0938 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Tirana, July 18 (ATA)—At the invitation of the parliamentary secretary of state in the Federal Ministry of Economy, Mr. Dr. Erich Riedl, an Albanian delegation led by the minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation, Mr. Artan Hoxha, paid an official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany from July 14-17, 1992. In the talks conducted between the Albanian delegation and the delegation of the Federal Ministry of Economy, led by Mr. Erich Riedl and in those held over the meetings in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and the Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry, the German party pointed out that the federal government is following with admiration the course of democratic processes in Albania and the determination of the government to carry the reforms ahead. The German Government, it was emphasized in the meetings, has backed up and will powerfully back up in the future too the consolidation of democratic order in Albania.

During the talks the German party aired its readiness to help through advice, advisers and training of specialists in the field of market economy, legislation, industry, agriculture, etc. It is ready to realise its commitments for technical and financial aid. Both parties considered the G-24 [Group of 24] meeting to be held in Tirana soon and bilateral talks on economic and financial cooperation as important pillars for the right development of Albanian economy. The German party valued the work made so far by the Albanian Government with regard to international financial organisms thus creating conditions for the German Government to grant guarantees for German export in Albania. This will open up concrete perspectives for a fruitful cooperation through German investments in Albania. The host party pointed out that Germany supports Albania in its integration in international organisms, in the European Community in particular. The German party aired the opinion that the federal government will back up association, in the nearest possible time, of our country in the European Community.

During his stay in Germany, the Albanian minister read out a paper on the creation of Albanian economy in Cologne and another one in Berlin. Attending were many representatives of German industry and economy. Mr. Artan Hoxha spoke on the situation in our country, the actual stage of the economic reform and real possibilities for cooperation. He emphasized that 45-year-long isolation of Albania ended once and for ever and now foreign investors are welcomed. Albanian legislation is continuously elaborated and aims to reach international standards. He underlined in particular the laws on land, on the defence of foreign investments in our country and the reform in the bank and financial fields.

Ministry Reports Shooting at Macedonian Border

AU1907190292 Tirana ATA in English 0901 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Text] Tirana, July 19 (ATA)—The Ministry of Defence reports that on July 15 1992, an incident took place on the Albanian-Macedonian border. The villagers of Rajce Zone, Librazhd District, were scything the grass in the vicinity of the Albanian-Macedonian border line. At about 1830, a Macedonian soldier approaches in the direction of the Albanian territory and asks the Albanian citizen Durim Shaban Miftari to stop. The Albanian citizen answers that he is on his own territory. The Macedonian soldier repeats the order "stop" and fires into the air and moving deeper into the Albanian territory shoots again with a machine-gun burst. As he had entered 100 metres deep in the Albanian territory, he again shot with a machine gun burst and wounded the Albanian citizen Durim Miftari. 150 metres within our territory, his brother carries his brother on his shoulder showing him wounded to the Macedonian soldiers, whose number at that moment had become three, and two others had taken position on the border line. Meanwhile the Macedonian soldiers retreated on their own territory taking away some animals.

It comes out from the verifications that the Albanian citizens had no arms and did not fire. We clarify that the grass had been scythed in this zone also previously and the command of the Macedonian border post is well aware of this.

For all these border incidents, the Albanian party of the local border commission demanded a meeting with the Macedonian party.

Berisha Grants Ethnic Albanians Dual Nationality

AU1807152592 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Tirana, July 18 (ATA)—On July 17 on proposal of the Council of Ministers, President Sali Berisha decreed that foreigners of Albanian nationality and origin, upon their request, be granted Albanian nationality, maintaining or not the nationality of their own state.

The persons resulting with double nationality due to the application of this decree will enjoy the rights and fulfill the tasks foreseen by the Albanian Constitution and legislation in power for every national of the Republic of Albania.

On proposal of the Council of Ministers, the president of the Republic decreed the forgiveness of credits of agricultural cooperatives to the agricultural banks resulting on June 30 1992, estimated to 1,947 million leks.

The aforesaid obligations are to be paid by the state budget.

Justice Ministry Bans Communist Party, Newspaper

AU1807152992 Tirana ATA in English 0953 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Tirana, July 18 (ATA)—The Ministry of Justice adopted on July 17 the outlawry of the Communist Party of Albania and the ban of the publication of its newspaper ZERI I SE VERTETES [Voice of Truth]. The order of the Minister of Justice says among others: "According to the Law 'On Political Parties,' the existence of political parties is prohibited when their aims and activity have an antinational, chauvinistic, racist, totalitarian, fascist, Stalinist, Enverist, communist, and Marxist-Leninist character."

On the basis of the above provision, I order to outlaw the Communist Party of Albania and strike it off from the list of the parties, to ban the activity of Communist organs and organizations, the publication of the newspaper ZERI I SE VERTETES.

Court Rejects Communist Party Appeal on Archives

AU1807163492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] The Constitutional Court of Albania reports that its final verdict, dated 13 July, rejects as legally unfounded the appeal of the Albanian Communist Party Central Organizing Committee protesting the unconstitutionality of the Council of Ministers decree concerning the transfer of the former Albanian Party of Labor [PPSh] archives to the administration of the General Directorate of the State Archives.

In its verdict, the Constitutional Court concludes that the former PPSh archives are a resource of national importance and must therefore, according to law, be transferred to the General Directorate of the State Archives in accordance with the relevant Council of Ministers decision.

We inform the public that any report or article appearing in the press contradicting this is a lie.

In response to the appeal by the Socialist Party's parliamentary group on the basis of Law No. 7556 of 4 February 1992 on elections to the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania, which states that a People's Assembly deputy simultaneously occupy a post with the justice authorities, the Constitutional Court decided that deputies cannot simultaneously serve on the High Council of Justice.

Strike at Polican Engineering Combine Ends

AU1807185892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] A Defense Ministry spokesman reports that an agreement to end the strike and resume work was signed yesterday between the Defense Ministry, the management of the Polican Engineering Combine, and the strike committee.

Agreement was reached on all the strikers' demands on the basis of solutions offered by the government team headed by Defense Minister Safet Zhulali at the meeting organized at Polican on 1 July.

It was agreed that the strikers' final demand for the removal of the Combine director, although illegitimate, will be considered by the Defense Ministry after a review of the problem by an inspection team.

Democratic Party Holds Rally in Kavaje

AU1807175192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] The Democratic Party [PD] organized a magnificent rally in America Square in Kavaje yesterday, which was attended by PD Chairman Eduard Selami, and Pjeter Arbnori, Tomor (?Domi) and Dylber Vrioni. Deputy Rushen Golemi was also present.

Hundreds of Kavaje residents came to the border of Kavaje District with PD flags and symbols in order to welcome the PD chairman and the other gentlemen. At this point, a warm conversation took place between Selami and the people of Kavaje. In order to show that they did not share the disillusion and pessimism spread by the Cassandras of the PD, they all expressed the message that Kavaje is with you and with the PD. We will support the economic reform.

Selami told them that the PD and democracy have never doubted that Kavaje has given them unfailing support. Amidst the enthusiasm of thousands of people, Mr. Selami then made a short speech in America Square. Arbnori, chairman of the parliamentary presidium, also spoke amid the enthusiasm of the rally. Praising the democratic spirit of Kavaje, he said that Kavaje is like a strong body with no room for red blotches. Thus, the recent parliamentary decision—at the initiative of 30 PD deputies—to ban the Communist Party met with full support. In its first battles with the dictatorship a long time ago, Kavaje banned the Communist Party and banished it from its borders. The reform is now another time of testing for your town. We are introducing a market economy. The world is helping us, and a thriving town or district is one that is among the first to start and complete the reform. I am convinced that Kavaje will be in the vanguard of democratic processes. If I were not a citizen of the equally heroic Shkoder, I would like to be a citizen of Kavaje.

Enthusiasm increased and cries for President Berisha and the PD echoed round the square when Mr. Skuqi, chairman of the PD Kavaje branch, stated that, with the efforts of the government and, especially, President Berisha, funds have been found for all Kavaje District enterprises to start work. Kavaje deserves much better, as do Shkoder, Tirana, and all of Albania.

At the end, Gezim Peshkepia, a former political prisoner and a refugee in Germany, stated on behalf of a German charitable association that it has been decided to grant Kavaje a free institution, either a children's home or a hospital.

With applause and shouts, Kavaje sent a message to all of Albania to vote for democracy and the PD candidates on 26 July.

Berisha Addresses Police on Law Enforcement

AU1807182492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] President Sali Berisha went to Fushe Kruje yesterday afternoon to express condolences to the families of the innocent victims of a terrorist act committed there a few days ago and to visit the local police station.

I have come to Fushe Kruje, Berisha said at his meeting with the local police, to express my condolences to the two families at the loss of their beloved children to the immoral deeds of a criminal band, and to congratulate you on the great bravery, skill, and determination you showed in wiping out this criminal band in your town. You and all those who took part in this operation deserve the congratulations and thanks of all the people.

You policemen and members of the forces of public order are rendering a great service to democracy, and I am not saying this merely to flatter or please you. I am telling you this because your work against crime and to maintain order and public peace have been and remain of exceptional importance for the establishment of democracy in Albania. Before the victory of 22 March, the image of Albania and Albanians was seriously harmed by a great wave of arson, looting of humanitarian aid, murder, theft, and organized destruction of schools and other cultural and educational facilities. The communists left the stage of history with an unprecedented wave of destruction so that after the 22 March victory, which greatly raised Albanian prestige internationally, the first question that international democratic forces asked was whether the democratic forces in Albania would be able to establish order and public peace, ensure law enforcement, and guarantee livelihood and employment. You and the democratic forces have given a conclusive and positive reply to this question.

In its three months of life, the democratic government has shown Albanians and the world that it is capable of reestablishing order and calm. This is, first of all, because you are imbued with democratic ideals and principles and you well understand that the role of the police under democracy is utterly different from that under a dictatorship. It is no longer the favorite weapon of the communist party to oppress the people, but a powerful instrument to protect people and their honor, dignity, property, lives, and public order. It is thus the favorite weapon of people. If this it what the police are to become, it is first necessary for you to love people and to respect and value them, to respect and appreciate their freedoms and rights, and not to forget that in a democratic state, the government and the police and the president are beneath the people and serve them.

You and your officers must read and reread the Charters of Helsinki, Copenhagen, and Paris; the universal Declaration of Human Rights; and all documents relating to human rights. They will give you an opportunity to understand what human rights in a democratic society involve. They will enable you to understand that all our new legislation is based on these documents, which for us Albanians were heretical until yesterday. In the documents, you will clearly see your position under democracy.

Second, the basic condition for the police and policemen gaining the love of the citizenry is for them to accept reform and to reform themselves. Accepting reform means first understanding that an institution of the dictatorship cannot be the same as a democratic institution and to base all your activities on different foundations. Second, it means expelling all anti-reformist provocateurs from your ranks. This is in your interests and the interests of Albania.

You know very well that there used to be, and possibly still are, people among you who were accomplices in crimes and who stole and plundered. They are criminals and there must not be room for them among you under any circumstances. It is a highly positive sign that you yourselves are putting them in their place. You are catching these criminals disguised in police or Army uniforms red-handed. You must exclude from your ranks not only those who took active part in various crimes, but those whose apathy condoned them. This attitude is immoral and criminal. A great writer said that the difference between someone who commits a crime and someone who remains silent over a crime is that he who remains silent is worse because he is a coward to boot. Let the cowards go where they want. Let them find jobs in other organizations, but not in yours.

Third, you must transform yourselves into a powerful instrument of democracy. You must defend the law. I will remind you here that the law today is quite different from in the past. The law today has been approved by a parliament elected by secret ballot and the free will of the people on 22 March. For the first time in our history, it expresses the will of the majority, and is thus also democratic. Everyone must obey it, whereas yesterday's laws expressed the will of the dictator and were approved by a puppet parliament chosen before elections were held.

Building a working state of justice is therefore a basic condition for constructing a democratic society and integrating Albania into Europe. The destiny of Albania and the entire Albanian nation depends on the degree to which we are able to put a law-governed state into practice. An even more basic condition for this is respect for and defense of the law. This is the starting point of any democracy. A state that does not respect the law that expresses the will of the people will either only respect the will of one person or a group of persons, as in our case in the past, or anarchy will prevail. Defense of and respect for democratic law is the starting point of every democracy, its fundamental necessity. I stress here that any law is better than anarchy. In a society in which citizens are equal under the law, defending the law is a noble duty. This is the only way in which you will enable people to enjoy democracy and its fruits. Justice and the law are synonyms for each other in the state of justice that we wish to build. In defending the law, you have therefore also defended citizens' honor, dignity, freedom, lives, and property, i.e. the things they hold most dear.

Of course, defending and guaranteeing the law will bring you into confrontation with criminal individuals and groups, who will abuse the freedom that has been won. They will trample on other people and threaten you and your lives. I am confident that you do not lack the courage, manliness, and bravery to put them in their place. You demonstrate this every day. You show this every hour of the day and night. You must never retreat when faced with these various forms of pressure and blackmail. No one ever fought to win the freedom to steal, murder, plunder, and rape. I can never permit crime to replace yesterday's dictatorship. Violence, crime, chaos, and anarchy are the most dangerous enemies of democracy. Those who fared better under the dictatorship are trying today to encourage these things. They are trying to prevent the arrival of foreign investors and to sully the image of democracy. We are categorically determined that, just as we fought against the universal crime of dictatorship, so we will combat crime and criminals today. In a state of justice, the law must act against them with greater force. Be assured that in these efforts you have the support and blessing of the whole of Albanian society, and no one will do anything but congratulate the police when they put delinquents in their place. It is an indisputable fact that there is a visible improvement in public order throughout Albania. It is especially encouraging that in the overwhelming majority of cases, in contrast with the past, you are apprehending the criminals. You deserve congratulations for this.

I must also inform you and the people that it is true that the Investigator's Office and the other judicial authorities, in violation of the law are releasing criminals in many cases, which shows that these officials still include people who collaborate with criminals.

At its meeting yesterday, the Justice Council dismissed many of these lawyers from their posts and excluded them from the ranks of the judicial authorities. You may rest assured that this agency will reconstruct the court system, only retaining those people who are determined to serve with honesty, skill, and a high level of professional conscience. Those who remain silent when faced with corruption and who show favoritism to criminals will have no place in these authorities.

Transport Strike Ends; Agreement Signed

AU1907195192 Sofia BTA in English 1823 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 19 (BTA)—The strike of Sofia public transport drivers will end at 23:00 hrs today. Bus, trolley and tram services will be resumed at 4:00 hrs tomorrow. Following seven hours of talks late this afternoon the Municipality of Greater Sofia and representatives of the strikers' committees signed an agreement on wages, working conditions and job security.

As early as yesterday the sides reached an agreement on disputed supplements to wages. The wage of drivers and maintenance workers is set at 2,500 leva. The wage fund of 265 million leva will include incentives depending on the fulfillment of requirements set by intercompany wage regulations.

The municipality agreed not to hold directors general and other employees of Sofia public transport companies who supported the strike accountable until the court rules on the strike's legitimacy.

The end of the strike prevented a lockout. Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov had drafted a plan to replace strikers with 300 professional drivers, according to a TV evening newscast.

The strike of public transport employees demanding a rise in wages started on July 15. It was joined by members of the two most influential trade union amalgamations in Bulgaria, the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions (KNSB). Traffic in Sofia was obstructed. The government took urgent measures to provide transport services to Sofia residents. Routes were serviced by military buses, automobiles of ministries and departments and buses of private companies with which the municipality made deals.

The strike is politically-motivated, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov said commenting in the media on the 40th strike in his cabinet's eight months in office. A political declaration of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) denounced the policy of the two trade union amalgamations aimed at a surge of the strike wave and toppling the government and parliament. The Socialist, ex- Communist, Party did not take a stand on the strike.

Podkrepa leader Konstantin Trenchev said the strike targeted at purely industrial goals. In his view the allegation that it was organized by the trade union leaders was a gross manipulation.

According to a survey of the Institute for Marketing and Public Opinion Research announced on the TV today, 55 per cent of respondents describe the strike as politically-motivated. 36 per cent think the reasons for it are economic and 9 per cent do not know.

32 per cent of respondents say the relations between the government and the trade unions are the highlights of the week's events. One in three people in the country places the strike of Sofia drivers among the most important developments this week. Sofia residents describe it as the week's most prominent event.

Dimitrov Discusses Strike With National Audience

AU1807190192 Sofia BTA in English 1744 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 18 (BTA)—The strike of Sofia public transport employees is unlawful. The necessary claims have already been entered in court, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov said in a live broadcast on the national radio and television last night, assessing the strike organized by the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB) and the Podkrepa Labour Confederation. For nearly an hour and a half Mr. Dimitrov answered questions of journalists and citizens. This is the prime minister's first participation in a broadcast of this kind. The strike of Sofia public transport drivers is the 40th strike in the 8 months since his cabinet took office.

The war between the cabinet and the trade unions is not being fought by the cabinet, Mr. Dimitrov said. The responsibility lies with people using trade union methods to attain clearly political goals, he said. I oppose the political ambitions of people who seek to create chaos and thus weaken institutions in an attempt to, unlawfully, take control of processes in this country, Mr. Dimitrov stressed. The government does not wish to take extreme measures, he emphasized.

According to Mr. Dimitrov, many strikers have been deceived. The government is trying to help these people get a true idea of the strike, he said. In his view, the strike has, strangely, been called at a time when some people are called to account for the country's predicament, for the leak of money from Bulgaria, and for taking a pecuniary advantage, when the police is cracking down on organized crime and when the government succeeded in updating salaries at state-financed units.

On several occasions the prime minister stressed that a government making incessant concessions would be of no use to the nation. If Bulgaria is to recover from the crisis it is essential not to create an impression brutality and lawlessness can triumph in the country, he said. In his view, Podkrepa leader Dr. Trenchev is not helpful in this respect. On the contrary, he has long been trying to prove he can do whatever he wants to, Mr. Dimitrov said.

The prime minister denied accusations that the use of law enforcement authorities last week is an expression of weakness. The police took action against mafiosi, criminals, people violating the law, he said. According to Mr. Dimitrov, the crisis is creating conditions for committing offences to which the government has to react. The emergence from the crisis requires economic solutions and enforcement of the law. The prime minister has no knowledge of corruption in the government, yet if such cases are detected they will be punished to full extent of the law.

A rise in the number of Bulgarian Turks emigrating to Turkey has been registered, the prime minister said. It is due to rumours of a new forcible renaming. The government and parliament do not have the slightest intention to allow similar attempts, Mr. Dimitrov stressed.

Paper Charges Podkrepa With Customs Duty Evasion

AU1807152492 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 14 Jul 92 p 1

[By Sonya Koltuklieva: "Is Podkrepa a Trade Union or an Importer?"]

[Text] It is clear from a number of documents in the possession of OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK that the Podkrepa Labor Confederation has developed strong commercial activities. Between 1 July and 31 December 1991 it imported the following goods from the United States, Switzerland, and Belgium: chocolate, cigarettes, perfume, newsprint, voltaic cells, vehicles, and wristwatches. The duty value of the goods was 40,184,487 leva.

From our consultations with specialists, we have learned that the importer did not pay the duty—valued at 11,073,802 leva—citing Article 91, Paragraph 11 of the Regulations for Applying the Customs Duties Act, which states that "objects donated to juridical persons are duty-free." In the view of the specialists, when goods in commercial quantities are involved, it is "extremely farfetched" to apply the preferential ordinance and the duty should be paid.

Between 1 January and 30 June 1992, Podkrepa imported coffee, chocolate, nonalcoholic beverages, beer, whisky, and other goods with a duty value of 14,325,484 leva on which the payable duty amounts to 3,301,943 leva. Paragraph 11 of Article 91 was annulled in February and duties must be paid within 30 days of importation.

If these millions of leva are not paid, does the Podkrepa Labor Confederation not understand that it has harmed the interests of those who are now striking for higher pay?

BSP Submits Motion for No Confidence Vote

AU1707154192 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 17 Jul 92

["Declaration" read by Nora Ananieva, leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Parliamentary Union, via telephone from the National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] If we strictly abide by the requirements of Mr. Savov, chairman of the National Assembly, we are now called an election alliance. I would like to remind listeners of the fact that the opposition walked out of parliament to protest the gross violations of human rights and, especially, in connection with the stripping of Mr. Andrey Lukanov's parliamentary immunity and his detention. I want to announce that at our request, the Constitutional Court has examined and annulled Paragraph No. 6 of Supplementary Article 100 of the National Assembly Regulations, which allows the preliminary detention or the expulsion from parliament of a National Assembly deputy against whom no court judgment has been made. On these grounds, we already have the right to demand a review of the National Assembly decision on Mr. Lukanov.

As far as the speculations that my colleague tried to make are concerned, they are typical of his style and do not surprise me at all. We are in the National Assembly today because under today's agenda, a debate was due to be held on a bill on ratifying the European Convention on Human Rights. We demanded this ratification a long time ago. It was a dream of the dissidents and of those who started the struggle against totalitarianism. This was also our position on 7 May when we entered the Council of Europe, and we declared that we would definitely return to parliament when this item came up on the agenda. We declared in advance that the parliamentary opposition intended to take part in this debate, not merely to vote for the ratification, but also to emphasize its adherence to European standards and its alarm over the gross violations of human rights in Bulgaria. Bulgaria already has political prisoners, and we have already announced this fact to the whole world.

However, by further postponing this ratification because of petty, unimportant considerations, the Union of Democratic Forces and the Rights and Freedoms Movement have demonstrated a cynical attitude toward an international legal document of great importance. What is more, the draft law submitted for discussion by the Council of Ministers provides for a six-month moratorium on implementation of the convention and numerous reservations concerning it, with which the parliamentary opposition will certainly not agree. We will demand in parliament's plenary session that it should be made clear who needs this moratorium and their reasons for it, and who is afraid of the Convention on Human Rights taking effect immediately and without delay.

At the same time, the situation in the country has become complicated. It is well known that many social conflicts have arisen and are continuing to appear. This makes it necessary for us to make a serious analysis of the government's policy—an antitrade union policy, a policy of halting social partnership in practice. In our view, the confrontation caused by the government and the line that it adopted in parliament from the outset have caused this social unrest. This is the second reason for our presence in parliament today. In accordance with Article 89 of the Constitution, we submitted and officially demanded inclusion in the agenda of debate on a vote of no confidence in the Council of Ministers because of the confrontational policy of force that it is following. Through our political and parliamentary actions, we will insist that this debate take place next week. This is the reason for our presence in parliament today.

Former Top Communist Arrested

AU1707161492 Sofia BTA in English 1206 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, 17 July (BTA)—Ex-top communist official Milko Balev, 72, was taken into custody. Today Prosecutor Lyuben Klyavchev summoned him to the National Investigation Service on charges connected with Case No. 3, on the millions of dollars in aid granted to communist parties and movements in developing countries by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the former Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP).

Mr. Balev started his career as chief of the office of former communist dictator Todor Zhivkov. He was member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

Mr. Balev is the third communist party boss arrested in connection with case No 3. Andrey Lukanov, ex-deputy prime minister in Georgi Atanasov's cabinet (from 1986 to 1990), and Grisha Filipov, ex-member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, were arrested last week.

Together with former communist dictator Todor Zhivkov, Mr. Balev appears as defendant in Case No. 1 of 1991.

NATO Naval Delegation Ends Visit

AU1707173092 Sofia BTA in English 1706 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Excerpt] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—A working group of NATO's Command of the South European Theatre of Operations, led by Allied Deputy Chief of Staff General Savorelli, visited Bulgaria between July 13 and 17, BTA learnt from the Defence Ministry Press Center. The delegation met with representatives of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army and the Bulgarian Navy. The meetings were assessed as continuing the line of traditional bilateral contacts between the Bulgarian and the NATO commands and contributing to the promotion of practical cooperation. Future relations between Bulgarian and NATO military forces were high on the agenda. The South European Theatre of Operations Command is expected to act as a mediator and coordinator in these future contacts. The sides discussed several joint programmes and outlined some key areas in their cooperation in 1993. [passage omitted]

Ministry Proposes Missions in Ex-SFRY Republics

AU1707163892 Sofia BTA in English 1622 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs made an official proposal to the Foreign Ministries of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Hercegovina for the opening of special missions on a reciprocal basis in compliance with the Convention on Special Missions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1969.

The proposal is an expression of Bulgaria's desire to improve its contacts and promote cooperation with those countries until diplomatic relations are established with them, it is said in the announcement made by the spokesman for the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Ukraine, Byelarus Military Cooperation Considered

AU1607171892 Sofia BTA in English 1420 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 16 (BTA)—Experts of the Defence and Industry Ministries will study the prospects for military cooperation with Byelarus and Ukraine in various spheres, the Council of Ministers decided at a meeting today.

The decision was moved by Defence Minister Aleksandur Staliyski. Stating his reasons, Mr. Staliyski said military cooperation with Byelarus and Ukraine will help break Russia's monopoly as the sole supplier of certain spares and special-purpose fuels for the Bulgarian Army. According to Mr. Staliyski, cooperation will help negotiate more favorable terms for deliveries to the Bulgarian Army and find markets for Bulgarian military production.

From a political viewpoint, the establishment of military cooperation with Ukraine and Belarus will enable Bulgaria to attain equality with its former Soviet partners.

CSFR President Delivers Resignation Address

LD1707191292 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Address by CSFR President Vaclav Havel in Prague—live]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens: At noon today, Chancellor Karel Schwarzenberg handed to the Federal Assembly my letter in which I announce that as of 1800 on 20 July, I am resigning as president of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic.

I have decided to take this step after careful consideration. I have arrived at the decision where I see that I can no longer fulfill the obligations of the oath of loyalty to the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic and its Constitution in a way that would be compatible with my nature, convictions, and conscience.

By attempting to thoroughly fulfill this promise, I could even become an obstacle to the vast changes in our statehood toward which our country is heading following the last parliamentary elections and to the emancipation attempts of the Slovak Republic, whose political expression is the declaration of sovereignty adopted today by the Slovak National Council. Moreover, the recent round of the presidential election has shown that I have lost the trust of a larger part of Slovak political representatives. I understand this loss not only as an expression of disapproval of me personally, but also as an expression of disproval of the values I cherish.

I cannot imagine how, under these circumstances and in the difficult time ahead of us, I could exercise the duties of my office in a good manner. I cannot bear responsibility for the development that I cannot influence any more. Just as I do not wish to become an obstacle to this historical development, neither do I want to be a mere clerk who knows his days are numbered and who waits a few more months for the moment when he will leave office for good and who, during that time, only passively watches further developments as they unfold before him, and who only formally fulfills his formal duties. I have always wanted, and will also want in the future, to create something good for the benefit of my fellow citizens. The office of federal president no longer enables me to do creative and constructive work.

My key colleagues in the president's office, headed by the chancellor, resigned from their posts with me. I have done all that had to be done to ensure that the president's office could carry out its functions even after my resignation. This includes its service for the Federal premier, who will take over, in line with the Constitution, the majority of the constitutional duties of the head of state on 20 July.

Starting from 29 December 1989, when I was elected Czechoslovak president for the first time, I have tried within the limit of my possibilities and capabilities to work for a free and dignified life for all Czechoslovak citizens, ensure the integrity and security of our state, strive for its external independence and just internal setup, and contribute toward building peace in the world.

Naturally, I will continue my work for the benefit of democracy and for the respect for human rights and friendly coexistence of all citizens and peoples. I will continue pursuing it everywhere that I feel it will make sense and where I will be afforded an opportunity to do so. I will not stand for the post of CSFR president again.

Thank you all, Slovaks and Czechs, who have trusted me and who supported me and who understood the purpose of my effort. My thanks to all those who have helped me and cooperated with me. I also thank my wife for having accepted all the duties brought about by her position and for having fulfilled them responsibly. She, too, is going to continue in the work embarked upon for the benefit of our fellow citizens.

I wish you happiness, health, and firm faith in the future.

Goodbye.

Discusses Reasons

LD1907162292 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by station editor Stanislava Dufkova in Prague Castle on 18 July; "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Text] [Dufkova] It is Saturday 18 July and we are holding these "conversations" at the castle. This is the 99th of these programs.

Mr. President, Slovakia's intention to declare its sovereignty was well known, but your decision to resign from the post of president of the CSFR was a surprise. For some citizens it meant a sudden collapse of the world.

[Havel] I think that the world will not collapse so easily, following the resignation of one president. I am certainly not an Atlas on whose shoulders, as you know, the globe rested. Naturally, the world is not going to collapse. Life will go on. I have to admit that I am bit surprised that my action has caused such a surprise. My view is that, on the contrary, it has matured and headed toward this [sentence as heard].

I thought about this decision for some time, considering all its possible aspects and consequences, its context. I discussed it with my colleagues. In the end I took this decision and prepared certain things linked to it.

I envisaged that my step would provoke contradictory reactions by various politicians. To be honest, I feel quite unhappy when some of them say that by my resignation I am destroying our common state or that I am putting a nail in its coffin. I really think I have done enough for the existence of our common state. I made great efforts during the last two years in order to reach a consensus about our constitutional set-up, a just one. I initiated a long series of constitutional talks and I personally proposed a draft federal constitution. I am a bit surprised when those who kept criticizing my constitutional effort during all that time suddenly say now that I am destroying our common state, at a moment when it is really no longer possible to somehow rescue our state.

I think that a common state would be better than two states, I still think so; but I am a realist, I see the existing political trends, I am not blind, and I have to take this reality into account, to draw consequences from it.

I have been identified—by some Slovak politicians—to such a degree with the idea of a common state that this was for them the reason why they did not support me in the recent presidential election. And it is at least a bit puzzling that the same politicians who did not support me, in fact denying me their vote of confidence—it was obvious that the period is probably going to be a short one, that given the changes of our state set-up a certain change will probably take place here, too, and the post of federal president will perhaps cease to exist [sentence as heard]. Nevertheless, once the presidential election was to take place, since they were not capable of agreeing on extending the presidential term a bit, once they decided to vote and voted against me—then I necessarily had to perceive this as the expression of lack of confidence in my person and take this into account, too, when making my decision.

I do not consider myself to be a destroyer of our common state—on the contrary I think that by resigning I helped to clarify the situation, clear the air, and call things by their proper names.

To those who have got used to me being president, being at the Prague Castle, perceiving me as a certain safeguard, and who now feel that the world has collapsed, I would like to say that I was not supposed to stay at the castle for good, till the end of my days. At the latest on 5 October, and perhaps even earlier, I would have to leave the castle anyway. Thus, I do not understand their feelings very well.

I have said several times that I do not abandon my citizens. I am here. Who knows—as a citizen not weighted down by my post perhaps I will be able to help my citizens better than I could if I stayed in my post.

You also asked me about the declaration on sovereignty. I have definitely not resigned under some sort of an immediate impact of the adoption of this declaration, and still less have I resigned in order to protest against it. The declaration is a natural expression of a certain trend in Slovak society. I respect this. I do not want to stand in the way of this trend. In this sense there is a certain link between my resignation and the declaration.

Nevertheless, mine was definitely not an impulsive act of protest against the declaration. I made my decision long before that and the moment when the federal government got a vote of confidence was really more important for me, because I care for the continuity of power in our state.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, are you tired, as the foreign press wrote when commenting on your decision? Are you disappointed?

[Havel] I am not concealing the fact that I am a little tired, that I need a holiday. It is after all almost the end of July. But I certainly do not feel tired because of our development. I do not feel disappointed by the development. I, actually, know that history is not something that may be planned by one man who may be disappointed if it then sets out on a different route than planned. That is what is so beautiful about the life of man, the society, history—that it cannot be predicted, that it cannot be planned. That is what the communists thought, that they understood where history was going and that they could plan it and act according to the logic of the history which they understood.

I am taking the development in our country as a fact. The emancipation efforts of Slovak society are obviously stronger than we federalists thought and I, as a realist, must take this into account and have no right to be disappointed by this fact. I must respect it. I, as a democrat, must also respect the will of the voters. If most of the voters perceived the federation as an unjust set-up, if they did not give any prospects to it, if they lost faith that Slovakia could achieve, within the framework of the federation, that degree of specificity and sovereignty for which it aspired, and if they thought that it was necessary to search for a different set-up in the form of some kind of union of two independent states, as stipulated in the program of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, if the Slovak voters were of such an opinion, then I absolutely respect it and have no right to be disappointed.

[Dufkova] What then are your feelings?

[Havel] I do not feel bitterness, grievance, ingratitude, defeat, etc. I, on the other hand, feel a certain kind of relief. Relief, because I have the impression that I have once again behaved in my own way, in compliance with my convictions. Simply, I did something decisive, I became the subject of my own behavior and I did something by which, in my opinion, I contributed to the clarification of the situation in this country.

I really did see the issue in the sense that any further dwelling in that office would indirectly contribute to a kind of clouding of the situation in which we find ourselves. I have a good feeling from the fact that I did it, and it was a great pleasure to be able to clear my desk, to put it that way, to put the castle in order and adjust it to this situation. I want to inform the press in detail about this on 20 July. I want to inform people about the measures which I took with my assistants. I also want to thank them there for their work by my side, which was not easy or gratifying for them.

So I certainly do not have any negative feelings. On the contrary, I have a special feeling of some kind of joy of life and zest for life and enthusiasm for inventing something new—to do something, not to be bound by one's peculiarly moribund existence in the post of federal president.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, what would you like to happen next in this republic and at the castle? You have invested quite a lot of effort and time in both.

[Havel] As for the republic, I would like to see the development, which today seems irreversible, follow a speedy, correct, dignified, and law-abiding course.

It seems that the next significant event will be the adoption of the two constitutions—the Slovak constitution and the Czech constitution. These constitutions will actually define the statehood of these two subjects. The Slovak constitution, as we know, is to be adopted in August. There is a perceivable will on the Czech side to respond to this by speeding up work on the Czech constitution and its early adoption; this too, in my opinion, is important—that the two constitutions come into effect on the same day so that the federal constitution, should it cease to be in effect, should do so on the whole territory of the republic, not only in one part. I think that work should go on in parallel on some kind of system for agreement between the new subjects thus formed. As an orderly person I would like see order and system in this. I would, of course, be happy if tension, any kind of civil conflict, unilateral steps, tension, etc. do not arise.

I am sometimes disquieted by all kinds of unfair attacks in the press, incrimination, etc. I have, for instance, read in a Slovak newspaper an amazing article attacking me with the accusation that I had an agreement with Yeltsin, that we had the invitation letter hidden somewhere in a drawer with the intention of revealing it a day before the declaration of sovereignty [of the Slovak Republic], thus somehow depreciating that day, and that the only living signatory was—intentionally—the Slovak Bilak. This, of course, is nonsense. The letter was found on Wednesday in the archives, Yeltsin called me immediately and I received it on Thursday. But the fact that such an article could be published at all! The editor certainly does not help the Slovaks because this is exactly the kind of baiting, suspicion, calculation, speculations, unfair, mendacious invention which stirs up the mud and which will turn against all the people, both Slovaks and Czechs.

As for Prague Castle, I have spoken about that more than once in our "Conversations." I have arranged a number of things to make everything work during the period without a president, to launch a new organizational order which I have issued. I believe that the Society for the Development of Prague Castle, which we founded, will start its activities soon and I, certainly, although not as president, will not lose contact. I have, for instance, started a foundation for the development of Prague Castle—and if not for any other reason than for this, I will have to come here and attend to things a little because this is something which is not immediately linked to the post of president. These are matters which will take years and decades. But the concept of the further development has been born and I want to commit myself to this issue in the future too. It is not that I will have no access to this place.

I repeat, I want to speak about these things in detail on Monday with the press whom we are inviting to Lany. We want give an account of our activities hitherto, inform them about everything we have done and what we have secured for the future. I hope the press will also report about it to the public.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, do you think that it is possible at all to work in politics with clean hands and pure intentions? You have experienced big politics for almost one thousand days now.

[Havel] I entered big politics, as you call it, with the intention of rehabilitating politics a bit in people's eyes, with the intention of functioning in it as a normal, decent man. I am really convinced that this is possible—if this is possible, if politics were a thugs' profession, I would not have entered it at all. This is nonsense, though. What is politics? Politics means care for common affairs and this care is necessary providing we do not live in communities which are not organized—as some animals, who also have some kind of organisation, herds, packs. If we live as responsible beings within the human community, in some non-hierarchic complex state, regional and supra-state entities, then we have to have people who work in certain posts on behalf of the others, in public administration of public affairs, and these people are politicians. And they should be in fact the best among us, those with the purest intentions. It is a bit absurd to accept an a priori premise that this is not possible and that politicians are people who are always under suspicion. Of course, there are many reasons why such feelings emerge or why some people can have this view of politicians.

I see this in my own case. Whenever, or not whenever but very often when I reveal some pure and unselfish intention of mine, I immediately read or hear somewhere what various selfish and mean intentions I harbor. Whatever I do, there is always somebody, some sort of a fellow man who studies it looking for some hidden intentions of mine, for instance, being thirsty for power; when I want a president to play a certain role in the constitutional system, this is immediately interpreted as my desire to strengthen my personal power and rule over others, limit their influence, etc, etc.

The suspicion is here and in a way it is a part of the issue, since if one has power one is always tempted to increase it, to enjoy the advantages it offers etc. Powerful people must be under increased control, they must be, so to speak, permanently under suspicion. So in a sense it is correct, but it does not imply that everything politicians do is suspicious and that the only thing they are after is to increase their own power, or to pursue other egoistic interests and purposes.

[Dufkova] What are you taking away with you from those almost one thousand days in politics?

[Havel] In a broader sense I have been involved in politics much longer and most probably will remain in it in one way or another. Those nearly thousand days in politics you mentioned are the days when I held the office of the federal president. Of course I have experienced many extraordinary things during that time, which were completely new to me, and very interesting, strange. It would be very difficult for me now to name them all and analyze them. That would require some time and thought. Maybe I will have an opportunity to do that and I would love to analyze and assess all these experiences in some way. I can name some of these experiences at random since I think I already mentioned them several times in these "Conversations."

For instance, I have been surprised again and again to see how important personal contacts between politicians are, how much depends on the atmosphere of their talks, how much depends on how much they like or dislike one other. It is very binding, and in its own way it is good that politics has retained its human and personal dimensions and that it is not a completely dehumanized matter where all the parties are mere tools of various functions and pressures. It is good that they are not just some instruments but concrete individuals. On the other hand, it is very binding.

I am also surprised by the peculiar weight or non-weight of words used by people who hold a political post in a free society. I have written a lot about this matter in my various essays and also in my plays about the role of speech, words and phrases. I have made an interesting observation that it is extremely important what words politicians use. Their words are closely observed and even a word uttered as an aside without thinking much about it, a word uttered unwittingly, for instance, can have an enormous impact on the situation. It can be interpreted in several ways, people assess it and can see in it more than it was supposed to mean.

On the other hand, many words will fall into oblivion. For instance, it surprises me how many times I had to explain certain things all over again and it was as if nobody heard it, nobody read it, nobody even noticed it. This is very strange. It seems to me that sometimes people hear only the things they want to hear and remember only what they want to remember. I observed this during the last few months when I was an object of various analyses and criticism, when almost anybody was speculating, when I did something wrong, about how I could have done it better and how he would do it better if he was in my position. It is interesting how little notice these analysts took of the fact that sometimes I foresaw things and from time to time wanted to prevent something we now cannot prevent any more.

[Dufkova] But, Mr. President, you must admit that in your post you have enjoyed more affection than grudge.

[Havel] I encountered both, and it seems that as far as grudge is concerned, that appeared rather on the part of other politicians and public figures, or sometimes also in certain kinds of media and in certain very specific and relatively very exact specifiable strata of the population; but I have—and it is funny to use the word—enjoyed goodwill and sympathy, and true love. I have always been touched by it, surprised, how from the first moment during those revolutionary days until today, various people, wherever I went, expressed their support, their sympathies, how they trusted me and liked me. I was especially happy when I encountered this sympathy in people who, it may seem, could have the least reason for such sympathy, such as elderly people, pensioners, who really do not have much money today, for example, and who could blame me for this, because the head of state is blamed for everything, and disabled people, people suffering in various ways, mothers with a larger number of children etc. I receive an enormous number of letters and I meet people who assure me again and again of their support and that really fortified me during the whole two and a half years, that held me in my office because I kept saying to myself that I could not disappoint those people.

In the beginning, as you know, I said many times that I understood my presidency as an interim task which I was assuming and that I firmly believed that there would be somebody to follow me who would be better equipped for this post. I am also sometimes reproached for saying that it was temporary and for staying on and even offering myself for reelection, albeit unsuccessfully. But if I had stayed on and on, and intend to stay on in politics in the future too, then it is mainly due to the fact that I am somehow responding to this—I could even say—this kind of pressure exerted on me by my fellow citizens.

Since we are talking about people who had confidence in me and supported me and liked me, then it is my joyful duty today to thank them all for their sympathy, for their trust, for excusing all my faults, including the fact that I smoke and, of course, thank all the faithful listeners of our "Conversations" who have had the patience to listen 99 times, every Sunday afternoon, to my rasping voice.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, when will we have the 100th "Conversations"?

[Havel] That, of course, I do not know. But maybe they will be, maybe we will meet in front of this microphone again. To conclude I should like to say: Goodbye. Let's meet again in better times.

Officials React to Havel's Resignation

Meciar: Resignation 'Expected'

LD1707223892 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Excerpts] Vaclav Havel's announcement of his resignation planned for Monday, 20 July, literally struck like a bolt of lightning in the middle of the jubilant atmosphere in the Slovak National Council. [passage omitted]

Has Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar been taken aback by the development at Prague Castle?

[Begin Meciar recording] It would appear that the timing is mere coincidence. Havel's resignation is a step that has generally been expected for quite a while. [passage omitted]

A proposal has been submitted for the election of the federal president to be postponed until the republican constitutions are adopted. The constitutional relations between the republics will be different from what they are today.

The Civic Democratic Party has not backed our proposal that we assumed would work on the principle of mutuality. That seemed logical when the Czech side had a president. They may possibly change their tune now.

This proposal would not be appropriate until the republican constitutions are completed and a new constitutional system of two republican and one federal constitution has emerged. The relationship cannot be established by selecting a president. Who would ever chose to run would find himself in a very disadvantageous position both politically and vis-a-vis society. He would have to ask himself: Today I am president, but what about tomorrow? [end recording]

We were naturally interested in the view of Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus.

[Begin Klaus recording, in Czech] [passage omitted] Out of the three highest constitutional institutions, two have been made fully functional. I believe that from the formal point of view, normal, faultless functioning of the CSFR will be secured, in the form of the federal government or its prime minister and the Federal Assembly. I therefore see no obstacles from the formal point of view, or see any reason for concern at the international level.

As far as the symbolic significance or meaning of the resignation, there is no doubt that this is just another signal of the trends that started in Czechoslovakia some time ago and has become polarized by the outcome of the June election. No doubt these trends will lead to further steps. [end recording]

Peter Weiss, first deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, received the information on the intended resignation of President Havel while the Slovak National Council was in session.

[Begin Weiss recording] After the earlier statements by the president to the effect that he supported the emancipation process of the Slovak Republic and that he intended to stay in his post, I was surprised by his decision. [passage omitted] But I would have thought that Mr. Havel, considering his lasting authority on the Slovak political scene, could have played quite a significant role as mediator in the talks between Czech and Slovak political representatives, and could have helped by his authority to prevent uncalled for emotions and conduct the talks in the spirit of fairness and to look for mutual compromise. [passage omitted] [end recording] [passage omitted]

Strasky Comments

LD1707201292 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Interview with Federal Prime Minister Jan Strasky by unidentified reporter in Prague on 17 July—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, could you please tell us what you spoke about with the president?

[Strasky] The president informed me about his decision to abdicate from his post as president of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. He informed me that in this context, and according to the Constitution, certain powers are being transferred to me and the government, including some personal duties of the head of state.

[Reporter] Could you comment on this situation?

[Strasky] I have had very little time to be able to respond. I understand that the president may have had reasons that are generally known: the course of the presidential election, the course of events in Slovakia. I, personally, was surprised and am also, personally, sorry.

[Reporter] What will be your next step now?

[Strasky] At this moment I will probably have to ask the government to draft a statement that will be in compliance with the Constitution but will also precisely divide the powers between the government and myself.

Kovac Explains Havel's Timing

LD1707223392 Bratislava Slovak 1 Television Network in Slovak 1950 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Statement by CSFR Federal Assembly Chairman Michal Kovac on a meeting with CSFR President Vaclav Havel on Havel's reasons for resigning in Prague on 17 July—recorded]

[Excerpt] The meeting was open, honest, and detailed. The president explained why he wants to resign. These reasons are the same reasons you heard on television a while ago in Havel's resignation address. I would only like to add that I specifically asked the president whether the fact that he announced this today was related to the declaration of Slovakia's sovereignty. The president confirmed that it was not related to the declaration. He said that it was related to the fact that the Federal Assembly passed a motion of confidence in the Federal Government this week; therefore, he felt he could now resign—which he had considered for a long time—since we now have a Federal Government that can take over some of the president's powers. [passage omitted]

Political Agreement Denied

LD2007073192 Bratislava Slovak 1 Television Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Remarks by Federal Assembly speaker Michal Kovac on 18 July in Prague—recorded]

[Excerpts] I would like to state that democracy, rights, and freedoms of citizens are not under threat in Czechoslovakia. With the exception of the federal president, all constitutional bodies of the Federation and bodies of the republics are working.

All parties emerging from the last, free election are parties of a democratic type and have democratic programs. Democracy is not threatened by extraparliamentary parties either. Therefore, there are no reasons for the population to become anxious.

President Vaclav Havel sized up the situation accurately, showed a statesman's wisdom, and reaffirmed his moral qualities. He arrived at the opinion whereby, considering his links with the common state set-up, he might begin to hinder the developing process of seeking a mechanism of coexistence between Czechs and Slovaks.

I can say to the citizens of the Slovak Republic that the resignation of Vaclav Havel from the post of president on 20 July 1992 is not related to the adoption of the declaration of Slovakia's sovereignty in the Slovak National Council. Mr. President yesterday congratulated both the Slovak prime minister and myself on having taken this step.

I must admit, esteemed citizens, that I am pleased at the president's assurance that he did not intend to leave political life and that he would continue to pursue his efforts toward developing our democracy and for the benefit of our citizens. [passage omitted]

I spoke with Federal Prime Minister Jan Strasky on the telephone yesterday and we both agreed that there are no reasons to worry. The Federal Government will meet on 20 July 1992 to secure the transfer of powers to itself. In this connection, I would like to appeal to chairmen of the governing parties and movements in the Czech and Slovak Republics to resume political talks as soon as possible because these could also help calm citizens down.

Esteemed citizens, allow me on behalf of the Federal Assembly and on your own behalf to extend my heartfelt thanks to Mr. Vaclav Havel for his immeansurable contribution to the fall of the Communsit totalitarian regime, for his great credit for keeping our revolution peaceful and velvet, for his share in forming the foundations of a pluralistic and democratic system, for his extraordinary effort in bringing about the first and second free democratic elections, for his effort to incorporate morality and humanism into our politics, and for a significant enhancement of the post-communsit Czechoslovakia in the world.

Mr. Vaclav Havel is finishing as the Federal president but not as a politician, as an extraordinary personality well known, not only in Europe but throughout the world. I would like to thank him once more for everything he has done for the citizens, and wish him in your name and in the name of the Federal Assembly good health in future life, success in personal and political life, for the good and well-being of the citizens, and the development of friendly relations between the citizens of the Czech and Slovak Republics.

[Announcer] Frantisek Miklosko, former chairman of the Slovak Parliament, said in an interview with a CSTK correspondent that an agreement exists between the Civic Democratic Party and the Movement for Democratic Slovakia, the content of which has not been published and which is now being acted out. For the former Slovak Parliamentary speaker, the resignation of President Havel on Monday 20 July could well be part of the agreement. Are these allegations true?

[Kovac] They are absolutely untrue. I can say with all confidence that no other political agreement exists apart from that which has been published. Therefore it is not true that the resignation of President Havel was part of a political agreement. [passage omitted]

Communist Leader 'Disappointed'

AU2007135792 Prague CSTK in English 1716 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Prague July 17 (CSTK)— KSCM [Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia] Chairman Jiri Svoboda believes that Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has resigned from his role as a consolidating figure on Czechoslovakia's political scene at the moment when its constitutional setup is faced by crisis. He added that Havel has obviously resigned himself to the thought that Czechoslovakia will divide into two independent states.

He said the KSCM is opposed to the fact that the Federal Government, according to its own declaration, has given up further efforts to preserve the common state.

Svoboda told CSTK he was very sorry and disappointed to have heard of Havel's resignation and added that considering the respect Havel enjoys at home and abroad, his personality for Czechoslovakia is irreplaceable.

Svoboda said had Havel ran for president in the third double- round of the presidential election, he himself would have supported his candidature.

Domestic, International Reaction

LD1707184492

[Editorial Report] The following is a roundup of domestic and international reaction to CSFR President Vaclav Havel's resignation monitored on 17 July. Sourcelines follow each entry.

Slovak Premier Meciar Not Surprised

"Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's announcement that he will step down was nothing unexpected, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told CSTK today. 'I don't think it was a step reacting to (today's) Slovak declaration of sovereignty, because Mr President sincerely congratulated us to the declaration,' Meciar said in an interview. He said he had spoken by telephone with Havel, expressing his regret that Havel had chosen this time to resign. 'On the other hand, he sees a rational solution in that his decision may contribute towards speeding up the development of Czech-Slovak coexistence,' Meciar said. He added that he and his Czech counterpart Vaclav Klaus had in talks never considered or discussed Havel's resignation. 'It would be unworthy to assume that Mr Klaus or myself would engage in such a politically impure matter. We respect the Constitution and we respect Vaclav Havel.' He added that Havel 'cannot be a subject of political agreements between the two parties. We only notified the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] that we will not support Havel's candidacy for president and we said why. ODS representatives told us why they recommend him and thus discussions on this subject ended.' On Czechoslovakia's future Meciar said 'both Republics will constitute themselves as states and talks on the future will follow. They will start next week and anticipating their results would be premature.'" (Prague CSTK in English at 1546 GMT, datelined Bratislava)

Czech National Council Speaker Finds Move 'Straightforward'

Czech National Council Speaker Milan Uhde says during a recorded interview: "I was expecting Havel's resignation without being privy to any information from the president's circles or from elsewhere. I think his response is consequential and straightforward. I would act in exactly the same way if it were me." (Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech at 1600 GMT)

Slovak National Council Chairman 'Expects Normal Development'

"Vaclav Havel discovered that the present situation in the Federal Assembly will not allow his reelection as CSFR president. He opted to resign so that the Czech side could nominate him as candidate for the post of Czech president, Slovak National Council Chairman Ivan Gasparovic said. Despite Havel's resignation, Ivan Gasparovic expects normal development in the state since there is the Federal Government which, with its premier, will take over all the functions and responsibility of the president. Vaclav Havel's resignation can accelerate the agreement between the Czech and the Slovak sides, Ivan Gasparovic added." (Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak at 1500 GMT)

Alliance Plans To Nominate Havel for Czech President

"The Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] considers Vaclav Havel's abdication from the post of CSFR president the logical response to today's Slovak National Council decision to adopt the declaration on Slovakia's sovereignty, ODA Deputy Chairman Daniel Kroupa said. He also noted that, should Vaclav Havel agree, the ODA will nominate him for the post of Czech president." (Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech at 1600 GMT)

Communist Leaders Svoboda Urges Havel To Reconsider

"Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, sent the resigning president an open letter containing his personal appeal to reconsider the possibility of running for the post of Czechoslovak president." (Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak at 1700 GMT)

German Foreign Minister Regrets Havel's Resignation

"Federal Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel has expressed regret over CSFR President Vaclav Havel's resignation. Kinkel stressed in a statement issued in Bonn today that Havel was a 'symbolic figure of freedom and democracy.' The Federal Government hopes that Havel 'will actively continue to accompany his country along the path toward democracy within Europe.'" (Berlin ADN in German at 1459 GMT; datelined Bonn)

Havel Holds News Conference on Successes, Failures

LD2007161492 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 20 Jul 92

[Report by reporter Stanislav Benda from Lany Castle]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The president has opened a news conference by saying: In one and a half hour's time, the presidential flag on the Prague Castle will be taken down, and here in Lany I will be Chancellor Schwarzenberk's guest.

Vaclav Havel briefed us about the measures he undertook at the Office of the President of the Republic and assessed the period during which he held the post of president. While in the past the Office of the President was a branch of the Communist Party Central Committee, the new collective worked to change it into a functioning body. New rules of the Office that come into force now follow this goal also. Under them, assistant postitions will cease to exist, and the number of employees will be reduced to 170. The main departments—such as defense and security, internal policy, spokesman, etc.—will be preserved but, for the time being, the posts of their directors will not be filled.

As of 1 August, Lubos Dobrovsky is going to be appointed as head of the Office. The Office will, above all, provide services to the prime minister of the Federal Government.

Commenting on his term in office, Vaclav Havel said it took place during the complicated period of abolishing communism as the system of power and carrying out a transition to democracy.

As far as the first [post-revolution 1989] government appointments are concerned, Vaclav Havel took part in the appointment process as a representative of the Civic Forum and appointed the two subsequent governments as president. During the past two years, he toured various places in the republic in order to contribute toward outlining and describing the state of affairs we inherited.

Vaclav Havel stressed that he has worked to build democracy and to help in shaping our constitutional setup. He described the failure of the talks on transforming the federation into a functioning form acceptable to both republics as a great failure of himself and all those who participated in them. Despite this, our country has become an independent democratic country respected in the world—the country that contributed to a significant degree toward abolishing the Warsaw Pact and CEMA and the country that established close relations with international organizations and individual countries. [passage omitted]

The news conference is still going on.

Klaus Considers Federal Presidency Obsolete

LD2007162792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 20 Jul 92

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said after his meeting with Vaclav Havel today that he no longer sees any point in trying to elect a federal president. He said that his government intends to consult with Vaclav Havel on individual variants of the constitution of a Czech Republic. As one of the possibilities he admitted that the Czech and Slovak constitutions could come into effect at the same time so that the federal Constitution will cease to be valid on the whole territory of the CSFR at the same moment. According to him no one can foresee the speed with which this or that constitution will be declared. Vaclav Klaus confirmed that the chairmen and deputy chairmen of the CDP [Civic Democratic Party] and MFDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] will meet again on 22 July in Bratislava to discuss the division of jurisdictions and personnel composition of other federal bodies. Another item on their agenda will be finding a solution to other constitutional issues that will be acceptable to both sides.

Havel Holds 'Friendly' Meeting With Klestil

AU1707130092 Prague CSTK in English 0717 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Text] Prague July 16 (CSTK)— Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said last night it is an honor that the first foreign trip of Austria's new President Thomas Klestil leads to Czechoslovakia, Austria's close neighbor with which it has old historical links.

Havel and Klestil met at Zidlochovice near Prague last night for a friendly introductory meeting.

Klestil told journalists after the meeting he was informed by Havel of the latest developments in Czechoslovakia concerning its future state setup. He said he is convinced that the solving of the question of national self-determination in Czechoslovakia will be peaceful and democratic, and that human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities will be respected.

"The development in Slovakia should not be influenced from outside. The right to self-determination must be respected," Klestil said.

Havel told journalists his talks with Klestil focused on all-European problems, Europe's future, and its institutions.

"Our stands are very close," Havel said, adding that it is naturally very important for political cooperation if the view on European problems in a wider context is identical.

Klestil said he also discussed with Havel the problem of Czechoslovakia's nuclear power plants at Jaslovske Bohunice (in operation since the beginning of the 1970s) and at Temelin (under construction since the mid-80s).

Klestil said Havel informed him of the existing studies and analyses concerning the two power plants which are situated close to the Czechoslovak-Austrian border. As for Temelin, one possibility is that the power plant might not be put in operation at all, Klestil said.

Klestil announced he invited Havel for a visit to Vienna regardless of his function at the time of the visit. "I am really very glad that the invitation was accepted," Klestil said.

Strasky Upholds Federal Government Statement

LD1807023492 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1212 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Address by Federal Prime Minister Jan Strasky to the federal parliament in Prague—live; broadcast in progress]

[Text] ...Individual members of the government took part in the debates in the committees.

The government appeared today in front of the federal parliament to take part in a discussion of its policy statement in the plenum of the Federal Assembly and to ask for a vote of confidence, for agreement with the implementation of the content of its statement, which I am doing by these words in harmony with Article 69 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation. In spite of this, let me comment, or perhaps emphasize, some principles of this Policy Statement.

However much in the last few days the words on the division of the state are considered, or because of it, I find it necessary to emphasize: The political representations, which with their actions predetermined the basis and the principles of the policy statement that has been put forward, did not agree on the state set-up solution of the CSFR. It is true that the Czech negotiators made their view known directly on the non-acceptability of confederation, and the Slovak side made its view against the federation known indirectly by insisting on the principle of legal subjectivity of Slovakia. They shifted aside the final decision, however, to the sphere of legislative bodies by setting an approximate advisable deadline by which it would be in their view reasonable to arrive at a decision: 30 September 1992.

The Federal Government has not only the room but also the duty to act and make decisions in such a way that, after the end of this deadline, the return to a functional federation would be possible if by that time a politically legitimate guideline for their different attitude is not obtained. From this viewpoint, in cooperation with the republic's bodies, (?drafts) of the amendments of the jurisdictions will be prepared and the government will turn to you, most probably at the end of this month, if it gains your confidence today.

The government is presenting a program that can be summarized as follows:

First, it wants to secure the continuity of all processes started after November 1989 and to continue all reforms it started.

Second, it proposes a significant reduction of the number and the size of the central bodies of the state administrations, the transfer of the jurisdictions of abolished and reduced bodies of the state administration to the remaining central bodies of the state administration, and the transfer of the agreed jurisdictions to the bodies of the Republics.

Third, it undertakes to draw up and, providing it is authorized to do so, it will propose conditions for a smooth functioning of two sovereign states, which will be subject to international law. The government does not consider it possible to foretell its policy after the aforementioned date because its individual variants would contradict one another. This is why it decided that its policy statement should cover the period before the time a decision on the state and constitutional set up is made, with the premise that it would ask you to hear and evaluate the appendix to the policy statement then. The issue is not the restriction of the Federal Government mandate. We know that the duration of our mandate is given by the Constitution and your will, and we are ready to put it into effect.

According to the time schedule, following the proposed change to the structure of federal bodies of state administration, the first period will focus on the amendment of powers. The second period will focus on preparatory measures related to a possible division of the state. Thus, the government does not want to upset its balanced attitude to both possible variants of the final decision on the state and constitutional set up and does not intend to foster any of these variants. If, despite this assurance, someone was of the impression that this could be the case, then this impression could very likely arise because the work on the variants of the division of the state is much more plentiful and that, as such, more should be said about it in our statement.

As a government of the CSFR, we cannot stand by idly and watch a situation where the policy statements of both republics' governments are declaring their readiness, or their efforts to ready themselves, for a possible division of the state. Under these conditions, the government undertakes first and foremost to ensure the continuity of the legal code, to create conditions for further development of the democratic system, to observe the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, and to continue the transformation process of the economy. Furthermore, it will ensure that, externally, the state will act as one entity in meeting all undertakings of the CSFR, that it will protect its interests abroad, and continue in the process of incorporating the CSFR into the European integrational processes. Further, it will ensure measures in the sphere of constitutional protection, internal order, and combating criminality. It undertakes to implement the defensive military doctrine of the CSFR and, at the same time, complete the already begun troop deployments and draft further measures to ensure the defense of the whole state under the condition of a well- balanced deployment of forces in both republics.

The government will seek to preserve the stability of the macroeconomic milieu on the entire territory and, within the limits of its federal powers, support privatization, effective economic growth, and regional measures aimed at supporting the revival of the economy. It will support the influx of foreign capital and all the purposeful forms of international cooperation in the sphere of economy, and it will prevent the increase of foreign debt of the CSFR so that the transformation we have been carrying out is not implemented at the cost of future generations.

The Government of the CSFR is aware of the most difficult task it faces. This is the role though that—providing you give it your vote of confidence—it is going to share with you. It is the early recognition of the will of our citizens with a reaction that respects this will, but at the same time represents a peaceful, just implementation of it that is acceptable to the world as well.

Thank you.

Deputy Federal Premier Views Constitutional Issues

LD1907210292 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Interview with Deputy Federal Premier Miroslav Macek by reporter Jana Hrbkova in Prague on 19 July—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Hrbkova] On 20 July, President Vaclav Havel resigns. This will bring about a number of changes, mostly in the leadership of the state. Can you tell us what specificially are the consequences of Havel's step?

[Macek] At that moment, the post of federal president, or of any president because there is only one, becomes vacant. That means that according to the constitutional laws the majority of his functions are taken over by the federal government, above all the premier. That is why the federal government will be in extraordinary session tomorrow, to take over the powers from the president and specifically decide which ones it will continue to exercise. The majority of the powers are to be transferred to the premier.

[Hrbkova] What of the relationship between the federal premier and the Federal Assembly speaker? Will the latter also carry out certain functions?

[Macek] This is a topical question. This division of power, of course, has been far from finalized and perfected. That is another reason why the Federal Government will be in session. I would not like to jump ahead of time and say what the Federal Government will decide.

[Hrbkova] Let us go back to one of the most significant issues of these days, as far as the future working of the federation goes. That is, the declaration of Slovak sovereignty. Looking from this angle, will this fact in any way influence the policy statement of the Federal Government? Are there going to be any changes?

[Macek] I don't think so. The Federal Government was aware of the situation. That is why it presented to the Federal Assembly what it called a time-restricted policy statement. The limit is 30 September 1992. By that date, the national councils should come to an agreement on the future fate of this state. Until that date, all that the national councils have to do is to agree on how to proceed. In short, as long as the common state and the federation exist, the Federal Government is obliged to exercise governmental functions, and indeed is ready to do so.

On the other hand, the Federal Government has undertaken to work out a course of action for the possibility of the state splitting up. [passage omitted] That is why the policy statement of the Federal Government is double-edged, in a way. A number of opposition parties have criticized it for this. But the Federal Government could in fact do nothing else or put anything else in the statement.

Following the declaration of sovereignty by the Slovak National Council, the situation is somewhat clearer in that it appears that we closer to an actual division of the state. Let me explain why. From a purely legislative viewpoint, it would appear that this is nothing special, because we are still within the valid constitutional framework. However, this is mainly due to the fact that this constitution dating from 1960 has not been updated. It treated the ties between the republics as very loose. In those days it did not matter one iota what the constitution actually said about sovereignty because the whole state was far from sovereign. Therefore the 1960 constitution employed various Orwellian terms of reference and did not call a spade a spade. From the viewpoint of this, still valid, constitution, everything is in order.

From the practical point of view, however, it means that this is the first step of the three which the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [MFDS] put in its election program, and which it is now implementing. The first step is the declaration of sovereignty, the second the adoption of the Slovak constitution, and the third the status of an international and legal subject. [passage omitted]

I personally think that the moment federal laws cease to be valid in Slovakia, the common state is de facto defunct. The demise of the federal state would then have to be endorsed de jure.

[Hrbkova] Listeners have been phoning Prague radio asking what the implications of the declaration of Slovakia's sovereignty are at this very moment.

[Macek] None, from the purely legislative point of view. The old, vague, Orwellian constitution where words carried no weight has made the present situation possible. But on the other hand, we have to ask what it means in reality. And I think that it has really and truly been the first step toward Slovakia's independence [osamostatneni]. [passage omitted]

The significant event of the next week is the top-level meeting in Bratislava between the MFDS and the Civic Democratic Party. They are to hold formal discussions on the rest of of the federal bodies, about 20 of them. The meeting will also deal with issues of the federal radio and television and the Federal Security and Information Service; and also, for example, the Federal Office for Standardization, and the Czechoslovak Academy of Science; simply all federal bodies. They are to discuss which federal bodies should remain and which should be abolished, and what their staffing should be by either citizens from Slovakia or the Czech lands. [passage omitted]

Strasky Says World Reconciled to Country's Split

LD1907071492 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 2000 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Federal Prime Minister Jan Strasky said today that in his view the world envisaged Czechoslovakia's split and is better reconciled to it than the home political scene thinks. He told this to a CSTK correspondent on board a plane while returning from Vienna where he attended a meeting of the member-states of the former Hexagonale, now the Central European Initiative. As Jan Strasky went on to note, following the presentation of Slovakia's sovereignty and President Havel's resignation, the development as far as our constitutional set-up is concerned goes only in one direction—toward a disintegration.

According to Prime Minister Strasky, it is not possible to envisage on the basis of this whether it is not going to stop or whether, on the contrary, new obstacles are not going to emerge.

Slovakia Not To Receive Any Extra Money

LD1907090692 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Interview with Federal Finance Minister Jan Klak by unidentified correspondent, date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] The Federal Government is aware that all state budgets will be under considerable pressure until the end of this year. Therefore, the state budget cannot be a tool for enlivening the economy if we do not want to allow the breakdown of state finances, says its policy statement. This means in other words that the original concept of a balanced state budget must be preserved. Is it realistic? I asked Federal Minister of Finances Jan Klak.

[Klak] I do not want to be too much of an optimist but I am saying that I shall do my utmost to have it well balanced. The development is not very favorable for a balanced budget, we know that we have deficits—or to put it better the inflow to the budget is not what we expected. The result of this is a lack of balance and eventually there might be a deficit.

[Correspondent] Could you be more specific and tell us how big is the present deficit with regard to the creation of revenue for the state budget?

[Klak] The greatest deficit in the revenue is with regard to the turnover tax, where for a half-year it might be approximately 10 to 15 billion crowns. What was envisaged was substantially more than what is taken today. With regard to income tax, respectively the tax on enterpreneurs income, the situation is quite favorable. The worst is the situation in indirect taxation..

[Correspondent] You have mentioned problems in revenue. Do you react to it by a regulation of expenditure and in which area?

[Klak] Yes, it is the best possibility to maintain a well-balanced budget. Some restrictive measures have been taken in expenditure, although some expenditure is constant. This is expenditure for social consumption, expenditure in social area, such as in health care, education, and so on. Therefore, if there is to be a restriction of expenditure there are not so many areas left. We can come back perhaps to the Army and eventually to other areas in which the state—perhaps in the form of investment—has been involved.

[Correspondent] Mr, Minister, do you know about the development in the budget of the republics? I have in mind specifically the development in the Slovak budget, where an important deficit trend is expected.

[Klak] We know about the deficits of the republics, even if I do not deny that we no longer know all the details, and our information is not quite as good as it used to be. With regard to the Slovak deficit, the Slovak budget last year ended with a deficit of about 11 billion crowns. Naturally this deficit was carried forward to 1992.

If we assess the results of the Slovak budget for the first half of 1992, disregarding last year's deficit, the situation is not so bad. By 30 June the Slovak budget had a deficit of about 2 billion crowns, and the Czech budget shows a surplus.

[Correspondent] You have said that the Slovak budget situation is slightly less favorable than the Czech budget. This is likely to be connected with some pressure on the Slovak side, especially from Minister Keltosova to change the budget rules this year so that the Slovak budget could draw further funds from the Federal budget. Is this variant considered?

[Klak] I do not want to make specific statements at the moment, but I think that as the cards have been dealt out, as the rules have been made for this year, in the same way the whole thing should be carried through to the end. [Correspondent] We shall very carefully observe whether it will be really finished according to these rules, all the more so that the contributions of Slovakia into the Federal budget are already smaller than the expenditure from this budget, which consequently cover the needs of Slovakia. From next year the principle of managing each for his own money will be applied, and in this way the economic relations between the two republics will be purified at last. I am saying, along with Karel Kriz, editor of LIDOVE NOVINY: Mutual blame will end and the hour of truth will come. Nothing healthier can be imagined for future relations between the Czech lands and Slovakia, whatever their form.

Klaus, Meciar to Meet in Bratislava 22 Jul

LD1807132892 Prague CSTK in English 1232 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Brno, South Moravia July 18 (CSTK)—The chairmen of the Czech and Slovak National Councils (parliaments), Milan Uhde (ODS) and Ivan Gasparovic (HZDS), met here today for a three-hour discussion behind the closed door.

Gasparovic told journalists after the meeting that agreement was not reached on all issues but that both officials now know what they want. They agreed to meet again on July 27. Gasparovic invited the Czech Parliament chairman and deputy chairmen to Bratislava. According to him, such a meeting will lead more quickly to an agreement and to a more flexible solution.

Gasparovic handed over to Uhde the declaration on Slovakia's sovereignty and a draft Slovak Constitution in order that he may inform the Czech Parliament Presidium about the two documents.

Uhde said he handed over to Gasparovice the Czech Parliament's statement on setting up a commission to hold talks with the Slovak Parliament. The statement sets September 30 as the date by which the nature of further talks should be made clear. By then it should be decided whether the Czech-Slovak talks will concern a confederative state or two independent (Czech and Slovak) states with their own international-legal status.

"I understand the date of July 27 as confirming that the Slovak side respects the need for intensive talks without wasting time", Uhde said. He added that Czech and Slovak Premiers Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar will meet in Bratislava on July 22.

There are many levels on which talks can be conducted, Uhde said, adding that "it is necessary to employ all means in order to make September 30 the date when everything will be clear".

Answering journalists' questions, Uhde and Gasparovic explained what they meant by saying "we both know what we want".

Gasparovic said that neither the Slovak nor the Czech side agrees with the current state setup. "The difference is that the Czech side wants two independent states if a federation is not agreed on while the Slovak side...wants two independent states with independent international legal statuses but in a certain union," Gasparovic said. He added that "we have both agreed that a federation of more than two members is not possible for the time being."

Uhde said that if Gasparovic claims the Czech side does not agree with Czechoslovakia's current setup, "it must be added that it is not primary disagreement but respect for the fact that this state setup does not suit our slovak partners...if we hear from the Slovak side that the federative setup of coexistence is not acceptable for Slovak partners, we respect it and consider it necessary to draw conclusions". He explained that the first step must be the act of division, that is the forming of two independent states with full international-legal statuses and only then these two states may discuss a form of looser or closer cooperation.

Both Uhde and Gasparovic believe that most important are economic questions and those concerning the Federal property both in Czechoslovakia and abroad. They emphasised that the course of action in the two Republics must be synchronised.

As to the question of a referendum, the Czech side sees a problem in the wording of a question to be asked. Uhde said that other instruments must be sought which will also be a topic at Czech-Slovak talks.

On the Czechoslovak president's decision to resign from his post, Gasparovic said that this step creates a much wider scope for talks between the two Republics' parliaments. He added that an election of a new Federal president would only complicate the political situation.

Uhde said that the president's decision was "well-considered. It is a step...that has fully matured on the basis of the previous development," he said.

Meciar Addresses National Council Session

LD1707135192 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0840 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Speech by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar at Slovak National Council session in Bratislava—live]

[Text] Citizens of the Slovak Republic, esteemed gentlemen deputies, esteemed lady deputies, esteemed Slovak National Council! All of us are experiencing enormous excitement from living through this moment. It is momentous, it is historic, and it is the time of the qualitative breakthrough the Slovaks have been waiting for in their development for over 1,000 years. This moment is a signal to remember our ancestors who shed much blood for freedom and longing for self-expression and self-assertion often as they stood on the brink of national survival. Their experience is relevant even today, for it calls on us to stand in unison, unity, and understanding in forming fundamental principles of national existence.

When recalling the past we cannot fail to see the enormous role of the church in the process of self-assertion. Starting from the tradition of Cyrill and Methodius, right up to the present day, it was the representatives of all churches who were active in our country. They gave impetus to national awarness, to the level of education, and who were heading the struggle for Slovak self-determination.

We therefore welcome the offer that this state of affairs will continue, that self-determination and moral revival are indivisibly connected. Another reason for recalling this moment is to address the participants, the citizens of the Slovak Republic. We maintain that life is the highest value we recognize. Freedom is the quality of life; it is the ability to declare freedom, free intention, free decisionmaking, and the ability to take into our hands responsibility for our own fate.

At the same time we are saying that with this declaration we are declaring equality, the equality of all citizens of the Slovak Republic—Slovaks, Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Ukrainians—not only as our fellow-citizens but as our brothers with whom we live and share a common fate in this common homeland of ours—in the Slovak Republic. [applause]

Through this declaration we are declaring the degree of intellectual and social maturity of Slovakia, capable of taking its fate into its own hands. It is a political declaration. It is not a constitutional act and does not give rise to an independent state. However, it is a clear signal to the outside world that we intend to form our own statehood and that we wish to resolve it and bring it to a conclusion. [applause]

There is a clear signal that statehood is important to us, not only with regard to the time in which we live but that it vacilitates communication with nations beyond our borders.

They are asking us: What can this situation achieve? Does it make sense? Because after all, the constitution contains the word sovereignty. But we should say at the same time, that by doing this we are doing away with the dualism of the currently valid constitution, because its first chapter speaks of sovereignty, but the following chapters rule it out.

At the same time we hereby declare that all the laws of this state are based on the fact that Slovakia is a republic, is a state-forming subject that—in the constitutional manner—respects the present situation and at the same time, announces that it will assume a new quality. At present, this means that the Constitution of the Federation is valid in Slovakia until it becomes obsolete the day our constitution becomes valid, and law is administered by the Constitution of the Slovak Republic.

By declaring the sovereignty of Slovakia, we are at the same time giving a signal to international European countries. We turn to all the others telling them that we exist, we are prepared, capable, and willing to conduct talks on an equal basis with all the state entities, with all the nations of Europe, on the principle of respect, cooperation, mutual rights, and appreciation for the new quality of European space. [applause]

By declaring sovereignty we assume responsibility for adopted pledges and norms common to both the European and world communities, a society Slovakia wants to enter. We want to live as we have lived so far, modestly, but honorably and fully. We want to declare our intent to cooperate with everybody. That is why we hope this offer we are making will be accepted and mutually recognized as our truth.

We are being asked by many: Why are you doing it now, when life is proceeding differently? We tell them: We are a young nation. We wanted to do it earlier, but we could not. The powers, outside forces were too strong for us. Now, for the first time, we have the right to decide about ourselves. That is why we are doing it now. [applause]

On this occasion we turn to our Czech brothers. Our coexistence has mutually enriched us; it has brought many good things to both of us. There is a new quality of life.

There are new, changed international conditions. We are seeking ways of adjusting to this new quality of life and therefore we are letting them know that we do not intend to interrupt coexistence. We do propose this though: Let us stop talking about whether we are going to have a federation or a confederation. Let us speak about what interests we share, how to project them into institutions, and let us seek understanding and trust in one another and in the future.

Sovereignty is not a way to isolation, sovereignty is a way to direct contacts, to direct responsibility. On the occasion of declaration of sovereignty we appeal to our Slav brothers. Our ancestors have for centuries turned to all corners of the world and appealed for unity and mutual understanding within the Slav world [slovanstvo]. We declare that we are equal and sovereign. We appreciate all the change going on today in most of the Slavonic countries.

We are deeply sorry about the struggle taking place in Yugoslavia. That is why I appeal to them: Stop the nonsensical bloodshed! Seek understanding! Whoever uses a weapon dies by the same weapon. Those who want to enforce freedom on others cannot be free. They are becoming slaves of their own power. Stop! Do not continue! This is not our way! [applause]

On the occasion of the declaration of sovereignty I turn to our brothers and sisters abroad. You left because this country could not feed you and you sought bread elsewhere. But you remained Slovaks. You belong to this tribe. We are obliged to nurture this tribe so that, throughout the world you can subscribe to it with pride, so that no group of Slovaks, anywhere in the world, will become a dry branch of the Slovak tribe. We greet you, we send you fraternal greetings. We are awaiting understanding from you, as well as cooperation and support. We are waiting for understanding, cooperation and support from you. We are waiting for the renewal of your relations with your own native country. [applause]

By declaring sovereignty, at the same time we appeal to our surrounding states so that not only do we formally recognize the existence of the borders but we consider the border of the Slovak Republic as a border of cooperation, not of division but of uniting peoples.

Let us compete among ourselves to see who will do more for the rights of national minorities. But let us not control each other, let us not argue because of it, let us not make our inescapable future cooperation more difficult. This applies to all our neighbors to whom we reach out the hand of cooperation in a friendly manner and with respect. [applause]

Allow me to take the opportunity of announcing this declaration to pay homage to our native land in which we live. Honor be to the peoples who lost their land. They have been scattered around the world and they ceased to exist. This is the place where Slovakhood is developing; this is the place where the citizenship of the people of this republic will develop; this is the place in which we are uniting our lives and our future. So, it is with respect that I greet you, Slovak land, I greet you with respect, free citizens of the free Slovak Republic.

Thank you. [applause]

Comments on Sovereignty

LD1807090692 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Alica Bielikova on 16 July "before the announcement by President Vaclav Havel that he was resigning from his post" place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bielikova] [passage omitted] I propose to start today's interview somewhat differently. I will not ask the first question, but let you ask yourself a question instead. Citizen Meciar is asking Prime Minister Meciar about the last week.

[Meciar] I have one question which has been on my mind for a long time, and I have been searching for an answer to it equally long: Where is Slovakia going and what is it going to be like? What we are doing now will be tested by time. However, we are doing it with the best of intentions and conscience, and our aim is prosperity for everybody. We are not looking for a conflict-ridden path for Slovakia. We cannot exclude temporary difficulties. When I spoke to the ambassador of Luxemburg yesterday, I realized that there are places with far larger populations than Luxemburg, which is only significant because it is a sovereign state. That is why we are seeking this path for Slovakia, too.

[Bielikova] We are recording this interview in the morning, before the session of the Slovak National Council opens. The draft declaration on sovereignty is yet to be adopted or rejected. However, there are already views that the declaration of sovereignty actually means that Slovakia has left the federation and that the Czech Republic will be able to take over the succession rights of the CSFR.

[Meciar] As always this is speculation. The declaration of sovereignty is a declaration of the right to a state and an intention to have a state. It is not the same as declaring an independent state. The declaration is important because it addresses the citizens' innermost need, it declares their intention, and gives a signal outward too. The view that the current constitution has solved it all will not stand up either. Those who say so cannot have read it through. In latter articles of the constitution the principle of sovereignty is denied. [passage omitted]

[Bielikova] At a news conferences this week, and also in Parliament, there were discussions to the effect that by adopting the constitution of the Slovak Republic, the Federal Constitution will cease to be valid on the territory of Slovakia.

[Meciar] One has to be exact: We said that in order to preserve peace we respect constitutionality. We are careful about every term we use. According to the present constitution, we say that by adopting the constitution of the republic the Federal Constitution loses efficiency and the constitutional conditions of the republics are being worked out by their own constitutions. [passage omitted]

[Bielikova] On 15 July, the Czech National Council recommended that the Government of the Czech Republic conduct talks with your government on the federal arrangement of our state. Are you going to have talks?

[Meciar] Naturally, talks are necessary. It is not appropriate to reject a partner, the more so with regard to that Mr. Klaus saying that the secret report of the former government is irrelevant for his government; in other words he does not want to be tied to it, thereby he opened the door for such talks. If there is no such distancing I can imagine that there would be no talks. As to the federative arrangement, it is suitable whereever it is necessary to distinguish regional peculiarities. [passage omitted]

[Bielikova] Great agitation was caused by your words about the contents of the Czech Government's secret report on retaliatory steps toward Slovakia after the possible division of the CSFR. Yesterday, in an interview for the Radio Newsreel, Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement and former prime minister said that the report does not contain anything about the exodus of the Romanies or the Slovaks from the Czech Republic, and that your statements about it are considered by him as lacking seriousness. Former Prime Minister Petr Pithart, on television the day before yesterday, designated it as nonsensical. He said that this is not an official document and the new Czech Government has nothing to distance itself from. Mr. Prime Minister, why do you not publish this document, thus supporting your arguments?

[Meciar] Mr. Carnogursky did not see what I had, but he knows how to comment on it. I admire that he can see through the walls. Mr. Petr Pithart knows what has been discussed in the Presidium of the Czech National Council. I am not saying that it was being discussed in the government, it was discussed in the Presidium of the

Czech Government. It was being submitted by Interior Minist[illegible] Mr. Sokol, and it was being submitted as the sixt[illegible]nuation of the measures against Slovakia. It w[illegible] the period when they assumed that on 14 M[illegible]lovakia sovereignty may be declared and they prep[illegible] plan as to what if. If they do not know what is there I will help them even more.

In the concluding stipulations they worked out D day, and they said what has to be done in three months, in two months, in a month, in 48 hours, in 24 hours. If they still do not know what is involved I will help them even more. What is involved is a continuation of the report which was ready in the first quarter of 1991, so that the entire time that they had talks with us and were telling us how they loved us, in fact they were preparing something else. I am very sad about this. Every word I have said is true, and what I have said is not complete because reality is worse. If I am afraid of the report being published it is only because I would provoke such passions and feelings on the side of the Slovaks which would be completely rejected the Czechs; the Czechs would have to protest, and I cannot imagine what the reaction of the Romanies would be. I can imagine the reaction of the foreign press with regard to the certain parts of this report which are known. [passage omitted—Meciar often criticized for using "isms;" Meciar rejects criticism]

[Bielikova] Mr. Prime Minister, I have only one more question. Is it true that women are best for spying?

[Meciar] It is unpleasant, but Mr. Pithart, as several times before, is expressing himself incorrectly. When I saw him on television yesterday or the day before yesterday, I found out that we have both changed. He is older and I am older. But as to interpreting the contents of the talks I think that there is another change. My memory is still good.

[Bielikova] He said that, allegedly, you have said that you have extensive intelligence in Prague, even police.

[Meciar] For God's sake, this is nonsense. [passage omitted] As to women, I think they belong to politics, they have their place there, they cultivate politics, they bring many new insights. I am glad that there are [words indistinct] women in the Government of the Slovak Republic, and I think what they can do is honorable for women as a whole. To say that Meciar has women as agents is dishonorable toward women as such. and if Mr. Pithart is talking with lack of respect about me—well, this is not for the first time. He destroyed everything which was good, useful, and nice. I think he belongs to history. I was devastated by the fact that he had talks at all about what should befall the Slovaks, that this was done under his leadership, with him present, and that if he endorsed humanism and heritage of philosophers—in the true politics he was preparing something completely different. [passage omitted]

Carnogursky Views Sovereignty Declaration

LD1707194792 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0918 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Speech by Jan Carnogursky, Slovak National Council deputy and former Slovak premier at the Slovak National Council in Bratislava—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] What does this declaration of Slovak sovereignty declare? It declares the natural right of the Slovak nation for self-determination and the will to form freely the method and the form of national and state life. It declares the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic as the basis of a sovereign state of the Slovak nation. But all this is not only declared but even anchored constitutionally in the Constitutional Law on Czechoslovak Federation of 1968. [passage omitted] Why do we want to declare it all again and pretend that we are going though a historical moment? Why do we want to break into an open door? [passage omitted]

In the talks with the Czech side the Slovak side had two alternatives: either to withdraw and agree with a federation or to implement a solution that the Slovak side is able to carry out unilaterally. The only such solution is to declare the independence of Slovakia. The Slovak side that does not agree with federation must therefore go to the talks with a prepared solution in reserve. This solution is the division of the republic and the declaration of Slovak independence. The proposed draft of the declaration obscures this clear alternative by repeating the formulations of constitutional law. This alternative is made more obscure also by the statements of the representatives of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia when Rudolf Filkus and Milan Cic declare that they do not want the split of Czechoslovakia, Prime Minister Meciar says Slovakia is not ready for a declaration of independence, and Deputy Huska is convincing us that Slovakia for the first time in its 1000-year history is not neighboring any superpower and therefore we must make use of this opportunity to declare independence.

Whether the declaration quotes it or covers it up, the problem of the declaration of independence of Slovakia remains. Prior to taking such a step, inhabitants of Slovakia have the right to make their view of it known in a referendum. What guarantees for independent Slovakia are offered by the authors of the declaration? Prime Minister Meciar said last week that the Czech press is waging a cold war against Slovakia and that the Hungarian Air Force is training more than is the NATO air forces. Federal Assembly Speaker Michal Kovac told the EC ambassador in Prague that the EC sees the problem of Slovak emancipation superficially, and International Relations Minister Milan Knazko answered the question of a journalist about who the potential allies of Slovakia are by saying that the Slovak public will learn in a few months and will be surprised what allies we have. These are the guarantees that the authors of the declaration offer Slovakia. [passage omitted]

The adoption of the proposed declaration by the Slovak parliament will mean a unilateral step by Slovakia. It will provide a pretext to political forces in the Czech Republic to adopt unilateral acts too. Such a development will lead to the nonconstitutional break up of Czechoslovakia. The Christian Democratic Movement does not want to take part in this development from the very beginning. [passage omitted]

The sovereignty of Slovakia can be fully implemented only by membership in European integration structures; outside of them, Slovakia will only be a poor and isolated island. We will get into them only through a constructive and stable policy, not by single declarations.

Slovakia has found itself at the crossroads of its historical development. There is only one honest and legitimate and, furthermore, constitutional method for the choice of a further direction: to ask the citizens in a clearly formulated and comprehensible question with clearly defined constitutional consequences. It means, however, for the politicians a certain risk that the citizens will decide differently from what they wish for. Therefore, a dangerous game of poker with the emotions of the inhabitants of the second republic has started. This is a game with political pressures that should lead to erroneous steps by the opponent. This is the aim: to make the Czech side take unconstitutional steps. That is why President Havel was not elected, although nobody from the political parties that did not vote for him even tried to justify it. The declaration of sovereignty of Slovakia is to serve this purpose. This is a hazardous game with an issue that should be holy for each Slovak man and woman, an issue about which we all should decide, not only politicians. The declaration of what already exists and an obscure hinting of future names changes a pure act of our nation into an instrument in a pressurizing political game. It is a game aiming at the political destabilizaton of this part of Europe; a game cynically calculating with the emotions of our nation; a game that only obscurely hints because it simply does not want to formulate its real aims. The Christian Democratic Movement will not take part in such a game because it is a deliberate misleading of the Slovak nation to make it believe that national interests are at stake.

For these reasons the deputies of the Christian Democratic Movement will vote against the proposed declaration. We see in this that we will be voting for Slovak interests. We see in this the protection of Slovakia from a hazardous policy. Thank you.

Officials View Slovak Declaration of Independence

LD1707230992

[Editorial Report] The following is a roundup of domestic reaction to Slovakia's declaration of independence monitored on 17 July. Sourcelines follow each entry.

Czech Premier Notices No Mention of Czech Republic

Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus says in a recorded statement: "This was expected; it did not surprise us. We know that it is an act which from the formal, legal point of view does not lead to any fundamental upheaval, although we know very well that the fact that it does not lead to any fundamental upheaval, coup, or change is due only to the absurdities of the communist Constitution of 1968, whose interpretation and wording prevents such a thing from evoking any formal change. More or less, that is the ironic consequence of an absurdly written Constitution. However, we respect that and are not required to take any formal adequate measure. From another point of view, it is obvious that it is a very, very significant political, social, and civic signal for all of us, for the Czech public, and no doubt for other countries. If I keep to the bare text of the sovereignty declaration, I must state that the fact that this declaration speaks about Europe and the world but not about Czechoslovakia—even the word Czech or any of its derived forms is not mentioned here—is very significant, very surprising. I use these two neutral-sounding adjectives only not to use some more expressive ones." (Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech at 1730 GMT)

Civic Democratic Party Sees No 'Immediate Implications'

"Representatives of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) today said the Slovak parliament's declaration on Slovakia's sovereignty is a resolution which is not binding and has no immediate implications in Czechoslovakia's constitutional affairs. In a statement given to CSTK, ODS representatives said they regard the declaration as only the first of many steps which have been exactly timed and which will lead to Slovakia becoming a subject of international law, to independence and departure from the Czechoslovak Federation. The declaration expresses political will but changes nothing as regards the validity of Federal laws, the statement says, adding that the declaration is a challenge to the Czech side to act quickly. The statement also says the declaration mentioned Europe and the world but not Czechoslovakia and this is an affront to the citizens of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia." (Prague CSTK in English at 1845 GMT; datelined Prague)

State Bank Concerned Over Impact on Economy

"The Czechoslovak State Bank says that President Vaclav Havel's abdication and the Slovak National Council's adoption of the Slovak declaration of sovereignty will influence economic relations within the framework of Czechoslovakia, as well as within its individual parts, (Jan Vit), the Bank's vice governor, has stressed. In his words, the Bank assumes that the changes will occur after the agreement of the political leaders. He assured CSTK that these changes should not have a negative impact on savings and other funds of the population." (Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech at 2000 GMT)

Roundup on Reaction

LD1707173592

[Editorial Report] The following is a roundup of domestic reaction to Slovakia's declaration of independence monitored by FBIS London Bureau on 17 July. Sourcelines follow each entry.

Slovak Deputy Premier Denies Declaration Means End to Coexistence

"This should have been declared decades ago, Slovak Deputy Premier Milan Knazko said after the Slovak National Council's third session, at which the deputies approved the declaration of Slovakia's sovereignty. Milan Knazko said that its adoption does not mean the end of Czech-Slovak coexistence; on the contrary, it is the beginning of a new, balanced partnership in Czech-Slovak contacts." (Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT)

Democratic Left Chairman Urges Continued Consensus

"The consensus at today's Slovak parliament session despite well-known differences of views will be necessary in the future so that Slovakia can fulfill the chance it has with actions which will bring specific results, Peter Weiss, Slovak National Council first deputy chairman and Democratic Left Party chairman, said." (Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT)

Miklosko Vows Movement To Have Say in Developments

"The CSFR is disintegrating. Today's events attest to this. This fact was clear to me when Civic Democratic Party Chairman Vaclav Klaus decided to accept the nomination for Czech premier, noted Christian Democratic Movement Deputy Frantisek Miklosko. He pointed out that his Movement will preserve its present trend and will continue to have a say in Slovak developments." (Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT)

Coexistence Deputy Supports Slovakia's Political Emancipation

Laszlo Dobos, deputy from the Coexistence political movement, representing the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, says in a recorded statement: "Obviously, it is a question of important things which, on the one hand, are of great importance to the Slovak nation and, on the other hand, are important to the entire Slovak Republic. What is happening here affects us just as much as any citizen of Slovakia. However, beyond this, I believed and hoped that in these very important matters, when it is a question of self-determination, the (?theory) and practice of self-administration, the nationality question, could attain a new position through this. I believe that the principle and practice of self-determination is valid not only for nations but also for the lives of national minorities, for solving their problems. It was in this hope that we made proposals, so in some way we wished and still wish to be part of this process, this process of human rights, state and community rights, built on self-determination. Unfortunately, I must say that the parliament's political plenum did not accept a single one of our proposals either now or three weeks ago. Already in the parliamentary debate of the government program, in fact, we were working on strengthening the political position of (?our) position and on formulating our situation on the basis of the European regulating principle, the principle of self-determination. I feel that I start from the principle of cooperation. I support the political, state emancipation of the Slovak nation, the Slovak Republic, the emancipation of their state, but I can only support this fully on condition that they also resolve the situation of the Hungarian [word indistinct] minority living in Slovakia on the basis of these principles." (Bratislava Slovak Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT)

Hungarian Movement Chairman Cautious Over Declaration

Bela Bugar, Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement chairman, says in a recorded statement: "I think we must differentiate between two things here: One is the weight of words, and the other is the weight of deeds. While there is a lot of talk, we have yet to see action. It must be said that Meciar threatens and promises, but when it comes to the legitimately elected Hungarian deputies sitting with the leading Slovak political force—that is, with the appointed delegation of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia—then they simply always get out of it. We and Coexistence already requested the opportunity to discuss our ideas. Unfortunately, I feel that the promises were only a show designed to make foreign countries believe that minority and human rights would be observed according to the valid international, etc. Therefore, we cannot talk about what we will receive. It is certain that Slovakia has set out on a path with the adoption of the present declaration. As to whether this is only a political declaration, I think that Slovak National Council Chairman Gasparovic's slip of the tongue, when he said that this is the declaration of the sovereign Slovak state, although he corrected this at the end, this slip of the tongue also indicates something." (Bratislava Slovak Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT)

Slovakia's Catholic Bishops Hail Sovereignty Decision

"Slovakia's Catholic bishops think today's Slovak declaration of sovereignty is an historic moment which should stir up gratefulness for the gift of joint life in freedom, honor, and right, as sung in a church hymn. The moment is also one when pleas are extended for life in our Slovak Republic to be life of freedom and rights for its nation and all nationalities, the statement of Catholic bishops reads. The bells of Roman Catholic churches will ring for five minutes at 1900 tonight. Believers will pray for the homeland and listen to the declaration by the Catholic bishops of Slovakia during tonight's holy mass or possibly during 19 July's holy mass." (Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT)

Carnogursky Admits 'Confidential Report' Exists

LD1707210792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Excerpt] Former Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky said that he knew of the contents of the so-called confidential report Vladimir Meciar mentioned on 15 July. He admitted that it outlined technical steps to be taken in case our common state splits. He mentioned specifically minting money, accounting for the Czech and Slovak economies separately, and securing some raw materials of crucial importance. [passage omitted]

Slovak Parliament Official on Government Program

AU2007125692 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Jul 92 p 3

[Interview with Arpad Zolyomi Duka, deputy chairman of the Coexistence Movement and member of the Slovak Parliament, by Tibor Kis in the Slovak Parliament in Bratislava; date not given: "We Should Not Allow Ourselves To Be Fully Forced Into the Corner"]

[Text] What are the national minority aspects of the new Slovak Government program? Our Prague correspondent asked Arpad Zolyomi Duka in the Slovak Parliament, after—following a two-day debate—the Parliament adopted the document submitted by Vladimir Meciar.

[Kis] From a national minority viewpoint, what did you like and what did you dislike in this government program?

[Duka] Naturally, we studied the document thoroughly, and our general opinion is that the text is superficial and full of contradictions. Unfortunately, this government program deals very little with the national minorities.

[Kis] However, both the Czech and Slovak press found a lot of positive things in this document, for example, the fact that, regarding the national minorities, the Slovak Government rejects the principle of reciprocity.

[Duka] More exactly, the principle of immediate reciprocity. It is worth clarifying this notion because, in accordance with this, the government regards as permissible the use of reciprocity in the long term, for example in its relations with Hungary. In our speeches, we pointed out that solving the national minority problems of a given country should not depend on the events that occur in the neighboring countries.

[Kis] However, this program declares equal rights for national minorities....

[Duka] This program indeed does this in a general form. However, it formulates this equality of rights by saying that "all of us are equal citizens but, in addition, the minorities are the Slovaks' partners." In my opinion, this differentiation is useless; moreover, it has a discriminatory effect.

[Kis] This is the third government program in Slovakia since December 1989. Which was the most favorable one for the national minorities?

[Duka] The similar text of the document issued in June 1990 is also connected with Vladimir Meciar. One can clearly conclude that this text was much more concrete regarding the national minorities, and the program as a whole dealt more with the national minorities. The current program essentially deals with the national minority problem in 10 lines.

[Kis] In your opinion, what is the reason behind this superficiality?

[Duka] One of the reasons is that this government does not fulfill the criteria according to which it was set up. In other words, this is not a government of experts. My impression is that the Meciar movement has such a majority in this government that those who formulated the program thought it was useless to have a thorough preparatory work, because any text would pass easily.

[Kis] In his concluding speech, the prime minister criticized the national minorities. What impression did you get from Meciar's speech?

[Duka] It became clear to me that Meciar did not regard the Hungarian movements as representatives of the Hungarian national minority in Slovakia. In his view, only the state should be in charge of solving the national minority problem. It is clear to me that the prime minister does not want to treat us as partners.

[Kis] In view of all this, it is surprising that the Hungarian coalition only abstained from the vote, but did not vote against the government program. Why?

[Duka] During the two-day debate in Parliament, it became incrasingly clear to me that we should vote against this program. However, with a majority vote, the faction decided to abstain. Most people thought that we should not be completely "forced into the corner" and abstention will guarantee our scope of maneuvers. I myself do not share this opinion because, in my opinion, we can count on nothing positive.

Hungarian Politician Explains Call for Minority Autonomy

AU1707191792 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jul 92 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Parliament's Foreign Committee and of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by Julius Lorincz in Bratislava on 15 July: "It Is Your Internal Affair"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Lorincz] Gyula Horn did not even wait for questions and on his own initiative began to talk about his stay in Bratislava, during which the statement recently adopted by the Hungarian Parliament was also discussed. The statement contains the phrase: "Hungarians in Slovakia have the right to some form of autonomy within the state borders," and Horn commented on the controversy that ensued as follows:

[Horn] We have openly and frankly discussed the spontaneous statement of our Foreign Committee that caused such a havoc in Slovakia. Accusations have even been made of our intervention in your internal affairs, but that definitely was not our intention.

I emphasize that there is absolutely no way that any serious political forces would come forth with territorial claims against Slovakia. [passage omitted] We respect not only the Slovak sovereignty but also its territorial integrity. [passage omitted]

[Lorincz] So, what is your position regarding some form of autonomy for Hungarians in Slovakia?

[Horn] We have not taken any position in the sense of specifying the shape that the autonomy of local Hungarians should take—whether it should be cultural, territorial, or otherwise. It is none of our business, and we do not have any right to comment on this. We maintain that if the Hungarians want this autonomy, then according to international law and norms, they can claim it. That is a matter of principle, and whether or how it is implemented is an entirely different matter. It is the internal affair of the citizens—Slovaks and Hungarians—who live here. [passage omitted]

Czech Government Discusses Debate Rationalization

LD1807130392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Report by Zdena Balcerova]

[Text] The Czech Government convened for its first working session today. Zdena Balcerova reports.

[Balcerova] Today's session of the Czech Government was of a conceptual nature. Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said at a news conference today that, in comparison with the practice of its predecessor, the government decided to rationalize its debates in a fundamental way.

The presence of the permanent representative of the Czech Government at the Slovak and Federal Government sessions is also being abolished. It will be possible, however, to sponsor the participation of the republican government representative in the discussion of certain items on the Federal Government's agenda.

The tasks of the Czech Government in the second half of this year were also discussed today. The newly appointed Commission for the Preparation of the Constitution of the Czech Republic was given the task to submit the draft proposal on the concepts of this document to the next session on Wednesday 22 July.

The proposal for the nomination of 11 new judges of the Czech Republic was also approved. It will be submitted to the Czech National Council Presidium.

The Government also discussed the guarantees of the state budget for bridging the financial difficulties of the Skoda Plzen joint stock company caused by the outstanding debts of the Czechoslovak State Railways. This is a trimming down of the financial guarantees from more than 400 million crowns to 196 million crowns.

The proposal for the new composition of the Legislative Council reckons with the transfer of the legislative department from the office of the minister of justice to the office of Deputy Prime Minister Jan Kalvoda.

Czech Governement Refrains From Response

AU2007140092 Prague CSTK in English 1711 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Prague July 17 (CSTK)— The Czech Government decided today that it will take no spontaneous moves in reaction to today's adoption by the Slovak National Council (parliament) of the Declaration on Slovakia's Sovereignty, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today told a press conference following the Government session.

Klaus said the Government has agreed that from now on its ministers will not participate at Federal Government sessions and Slovak Government sessions, Slovak cabinet members will not be present at Czech Government meetings.

Officials, NATO Chief Discuss Regional Security

Meeting With Antall

LD1807224992 Budapest MTI in English 1904 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Budapest, July 17 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner discussed regional security and co-operation during a private meeting and talks on Friday [17 July].

The prime minister observed that the presence of NATO and United States forces in Europe was not only the basis for security in the region, but helped the internal balance of all Europe.

Mr. Antall went on to outline the activities of the Visegrad Three and the Central European Initiative (CEI—formerly the Hexagonale), as well as the roles of integration and goals of co-operation.

CEI's summit opened in Vienna on Friday and the prime minister will participate on Saturday. The Hungarian position for the summit is that CEI can play a major role in creating regional and sub-regional co-operation between neighbouring states that are not members.

Discussing security issues relating to former-Yugoslavia, Mr. Antall said strict control of embargo measures and suitable handling of the refugee issue were necessary.

He said the position of the Hungarian Government was that refugees should remain in countries that neighbour their places of residence—that is, within former-Yugoslavia—and these areas should be placed under the supervision of UN peace-keeping forces.

Hungary would continue to be ready to provide humanitarian aid to the refugees, however, it could not contribute to organized relocation measures, such as providing refuge to Bosnians who arrive with Serbian passports.

The secretary-general agreed with Mr. Antall's analysis of the security situation in the region.

He said that as minority issues were a serious destabilizing factor in the region, NATO was interested in resolving this and in having European human rights and other standards observed.

Considering Hungary's characteristic central role, both from the geographical and political aspects, as well as the significant progress it had achieved in creating a state ruled by law and a market economy, NATO devoted special attention to Hungary and would not be indifferent were the country, or its territorial integrity, attacked.

Mr. Woerner said Hungary's active participation in European organizations, as well as the promotion of co-operation between these organizations, contributed to better security in the region and in Hungary.

Jeszenszky on 'Peacekeeping Role'

LD2007082792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0705 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by correspondent Zsolt Szalay, date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Let us listen to the interview conducted with one of Woerner's Hungarian negotiating partners—Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky. The correspondent is Zsolt Szalay.

[Szalay] Concentrating on the main points, what are those Hungarian security and other endeavours that NATO is willing to support? I can also put the question another way: Did the secretary general promise anything to you?

[Jeszenszky] He promised things that were already discussed during earlier talks. On the sphere of training, we not only talked about the training of officers and the preparation of Hungarian units for a peacekeeping role—if it became necessary—but about cooperation, in the sphere of wider security political questions, such as environmental protection, civilian supervision of the budget, and the relationship of the army, civilian society in general, and the Government. We have already discussed these in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and also at various talks at ambassadorial or expert level. These are being put into specific form. So I have to say that the secretary's general visit was not the beginning or the end of something, but the closing of some sort of initial period and the stepping onto a higher level.

[Szalay] I think minister that we must not disregard the fact that Manfred Woerner is German, and that as a German he is especially grateful to Hungary for the role it played in German unification. Do you see some sort of link in this regarding the fact that a NATO secretary general of German nationality would favor Hungary in any way ?

[Jeszenszky] Woerner's German nationality represents one advantage for us, that is he knows our region and the problems of our region much better, and as a German he also knows the situation in the former GDR a lot better than other West Europeans. So in this respect he indeed relates to our problems with a greater understanding.

[Szalay] Where does NATO stand now in this learning process, Since it is well known that the collapse of the Eastern European Soviet empire came as a surprise. How do you see this after the secretary general's visit ?

[Jeszenszky] NATO is an eminent pupil in this learning process. [passage omitted] NATO has its own independent life that enables it to adapt quicker. It is another matter, that it perhaps does not assert itself on cardinal decisions. But as to what are the problems of our region and what kinds of solutions can be found for them, NATO is well ahead of other governments. The governments have their internal political limitations, but governments do not only deal with foreign politics, they cannot deal exclusively with a regional crisis. The plans of NATO are ready for all events, so I have to say that NATO, if not happy with a crisis, is a big organization that if confronted with a new problem can assert great energy, and this is why NATO understands all central and Eastern European crises better than the extremely busy Western politicians and governments.

[Szalay] So you are not afraid or share the views that the learning process of NATO could have been faster, since it took a year before the organization made up its mind to put military force at one's disposal if necessary, if the WEU asks for this, that is outside its own territory. This could have been done a year ago.

[Jeszenszky] [passage omitted] From this point of view NATO has not been lagging behind, but its situation is the same as ours; the governments can ascertain that the forecasts and assumptions, opinions and studies prepared then, and presented put on the table of the member states, were right.

[Szalay] A U.S. senator said the other day that Europe should do more to solve the Yugoslav conflict. However, others say here in Europe that the United States could undertake bigger obligations. Is this some sort of pointing the finger that only hides impotence?

[Jeszenszky] This is undoubtedly so, and it is very unfortunate if America and Europe are waiting for each other to take a step. Some even observe this with a certain amount of gloating to the effect that the other was helpless, therefore I am the one who is needed. I consider NATO's offer and willingness to participate in the peacekeeping at the request of the European Security Conference particularly important, because this would eliminate the pointing of the finger that paralyses action; and where the North American countries and the West European democracies are united, joint steps have to be made. There is a third forum here, and this is the really decisive one at the moment—the United Nations. Europe, rather unfortunately, could not make use of the opportunity offered by the situation, for there was not the necessary political willingness and support perhaps on behalf of public opinion. Thus I think that it is the United Nations, as a good and proven institution as regards dealing with crisis, that is to take effective steps at the moment, to toughen or enforce the embargo, and in this it can lean on the contingents offered already. It is conceivable that NATO or other institutions will also participate.

Government Endorses Use of EC Certificates

LD1907105192 Budapest MTI in English 0929 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Budapest, July 17 (MTI)—An agreement between Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland to use certificates of origin required by the EC when exporting and re-exporting goods among each other was endorsed by the Hungarian Government at a session on Thursday [16 July].

The agreement, a step in preparing for the EC Association Accords to come into effect, was concluded by the three countries in Warsaw on 12 May.

The EC Association Accords have yet to be ratified by a number of EC Parliaments.

In another development, Hungary is to conclude a customs cooperation agreement with Sweden. The agreement will facilitate the two countries, customs authorities to request information and evidence from each other in case customs regulations are violated.

Also, the government decided to modernize the foreign trade statistics system.

Under the new system, data will be collected and processed in keeping with EC regulations, government spokeswoman Judit Juhasz said.

Introducing the new system will take one or two years. The purchase of the necessary computer network will be financed from a [word indistinct] aid.

Csepel Automotive Factory is to be liquidated, the session decided.

In 1990, the company was to be refloated but the plans failed.

Csepel automotive factory, which became part of Raba in the 1970s, had a deficit of nearly 1 billion forints last year, with debts of 3.5 billion forints, nearly 2 billion of which it owed to the state.

About 1,000 of the factory's workers will become redundant.

The state is providing credit guarantees to save the Kaposvar meat processing company, a modern factory, using technologies in keeping with international standards, and delivering the majority of its products abroad.

The company's current bankruptcy is due to the collapse of the Eastern markets, a reduction in export subsidies and costs of modernizing slaughterhouses and refrigerating plants.

Loans taken out by the Kaposvar Company have exceeded 2 billion forints. The government has now provided credit guarantees for 900 million forints.

Kadar on Trade Associations With EC Countries

LD2007122592 Budapest MTI in English 1030 GMT 20 Jul 92

[Text] Budapest, July 20 (MTI-ECONEWS)—As of July, Hungary had trade relations with half of the EC countries. According to the professional literature, trade relations at this level classify Hungary for integration in the community, Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, was quoted as saying in the daily 'NAPI' today.

Due to an interim agreement on EC association, operative since March, Hungary will have additional export earnings of USD 200m this year.

However, several controversial issues currently stand in the way of a free trade agreement between Hungary and the EFTA [European Free Trade Association], Kadar said. While the EFTA countries want favourable conditions for industrial exports to Hungary, they are unwilling to open their markets to Hungarian agricultural products, Kadar said.

Hungary's exports exceeded USD 5bn in the first half of this year, and if current trends continue, they will reach USD 11bn by year's end.

Kadar noted that one-off export drives have played an important role in boosting exports. Export-oriented production must be developed to expand Hungary's foreign trade, he stressed.

Slovenian, Hungarian Defense Ministers Hold Talks

LD1907184292 Budapest MTI in English 1600 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Text] Budapest, July 19 (MTI)—Hungarian Minister of Defence Lajos Fur and Slovenian Minister of Defence Janez Jansa on Saturday [18 July] signed a bilateral agreement in Ljubljana. The agreement includes the safety of flights along the Hungarian-Slovenian border, and on assisting the crew of aircraft in danger, said Lajos Erdelyi, spokesman of the Hungarian Ministry of Defence, in a statement with MTI on Sunday.

Fur paid a two-day official visit to Slovenia, and held talks with the Slovenian minister of defence, visited military organizations and also met with Slovenian journalists.

At the talks, the sides discussed current security policy issues of Central and Eastern Europe, and analyzed in detail the situation that has come about in the successor states of the former Yugoslavia which poses a serious danger for the security of the region both with its direct and indirect effects. The ministers also outlined the possible tendencies of future cooperation between the two armies.

Janez Jansa specially stressed that he considers the visit to be of major importance also because Minister Fur was the first minister of defence of a neighbouring country to visit the independent Slovenia, and with whom they signed the first such agreement in the history of the country.

Apart from the safety of flights, the document offers opportunities for cooperation in major areas as, for instance, the discussion of current security policy issues, exchange of experiences in the training of officers and sub-officers, mutual information about, and visits to, exercises in the border-zone districts of the two countries, consultations between military historians, as well as sports and cultural relations.

At a press conference following the talks in Slovenia, Lajos Fur and Janez Jansa said the meeting was exemplary and was also a message to other countries of the south-eastern European region, that this is how two neighbouring countries should, and can, coexist in contemporary Europe.

Antall Urges Solution to Trade Union Disputes

LD1907111192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] The Government has an interest in a solution to the protracted disputes between the trade unions, and in the creation of conditions for the functioning of the employees' interest-representations by a just distribution of the trade union assets. This statement is contained in a letter sent by Jozsef Antall to the negotiating sides participating in the economic-social forum of the Interest Coordinating Council. The prime minister stresses that he regards the employers as well as the workers' interest-representations to be an essential element of the social market economy that is to be built, and that political intent is not behind the disturbances manifested within cooperation, but rather difficulties stemming from the system change.

The government's resolute intention is that the trade union elections should be held this year, and for this reason it will submit the relevant bill by August, the letter that Jozsef Antall sent to the Interest Coordination Council says.

Antall Attends Central European Initiative

WA2007121092

For reportage on the attendance of Prime Minister Antall at the Central European Initiative (CEI) talks in Vienna, including his address to the summit and his talks with CEI leaders, see the International Affairs section of the 20 July West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Suchocka Returns From European Summit, Comments

LD1807214892 Warsaw PAP in English 2007 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Warsaw, Vienna, July 18—Poland's Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said Saturday night upon her return home from Vienna that she was received there very warmly "because everybody understood that the situation in Poland is stabilizing."

During her first foreign trip as prime minister Suchocka attended a summit of the Central European Initiative (CEI) grouping eight states in place of the former Hexagonale Group. She also held separate talks with top Austrian and foreign officials.

"If stability prevails (in Poland - ed.) we will stand a good chance of receving financial assistance from the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development. Investors expect stability and they consider this government as a symptom of stability," Suchocka declared.

Addressing the Vienna CEI summit Suchocka said Saturday that Poland's cooperation with the CEI countries "is important and helpful in solving difficulties that Poland encounters on the road of democratic changes and structural transformations in economy."

"Our states share the same democratic values and the same vision of future united and democratic Europe of which the Central European Initiative is an important element," Suchocka assured CEI plenary meeting.

Referring to the dramatic events in former Yugoslavia, Suchocka expressed hope that the efforts of international community will promptly put an end to bloodshed and help settle all controversial issues in line with international law and in the spirit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Suchocka pointed to the need to extend "international solidarity and assistance" to the wave of refugees from the territories where hostilities are going on. The Polish prime minister declared that both in CEI and international life in general there is room for "all states that are emerging from the former Yugoslavia." In this context she welcomed Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina among CEI members.

CEI faces the task to act towards political stabilization in the region, Suchocka declared. In her opinion it is good that the initiative focuses on the development of infrastructure in transport, power and telecommunications, but CEI should also make more effort to protect environment.

"We count on cooperation with the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development and other international financial institutions," the Polish prime minister said.

Suchocka had a meeting with Czechoslovak Federal Prime Minister Jan Strasky on future cooperation within the Visegrad Triangle and bilateral issues, stressing the need for economic cooperation in view of a drop in mutual trade exchange. However, not all questions could have been thoroughly explained considering the present situation in Czechoslovakia. The Polish prime minister invited the Czechoslovak premier to visit Poland.

Commenting on an impact of the possible split of Czechoslovakia on the activities of CEI and the Visegrad Triangle Suchocka told a press conference later on that cooperation within those two groups will be possible because all parties concerned are interested in achieving important results through this cooperation. At another press conference Suchocka spoke of her talks with Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato with whom she discussed prospects for economic cooperation. She said she had informed Amato about signing legal acts concerning the Polish-Italian Fiat-FSM joint venture.

Meanwhile, Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski had a long talk with his Hungarian counterpart Geza Jeszenszky about Central European matters, the Visegrad Triangle and its relations with East European neighbours. Skubiszewski will visit Budapest shortly after his summer holidays. Skubiszewski also met Hungary's Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to tell him that Poland insists on creating a free trade zone with his country and possibly Czechoslovakia. The Polish minister's talks with his Italian opposite number Vincenzo Scotti concerned economic relations and first of all the ways Poland should use Italian know-how assistance. During his talks with president of the London-based European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) Jacques Attali Minister Skubiszewski presented Poland's views on the strategy of democratic transformation.

New Ministers View First Steps in Assuming Posts

AU1707140792 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Jul 92 pp 1,2

[Report signed 'D.E.': "Where Does One Begin?"]

[Text] We asked the new ministers responsible for economic matters two questions: What was their first decision after assuming their new post, and what is the first matter that should be dealt with. We failed to contact the ministers of communications and environmental protection, but here are replies from those ministers we did reach.

Gabriel Janowski, minister of agriculture: "I hope the drought has made it clear to everyone how important agriculture is. My first actions as agriculture minister will be to reduce the effects of this calamity. Generally, I will concentrate on solving the problem of the so-called agricultural environment. Over the past few months we have created the basis for providing credits to the food economy, achieving minimum price guarantees for some agricultural produce, and protecting the domestic food market. Now we are proceeding to sort out food processing, services, agricultural organizations, and so on, in other words everything that is specifically dealt with in agricultural policy."

Janusz Lewandowski, minister of ownership changes, said that the most important thing right now is to clean up the atmosphere surrounding privatization. He said that he monitored the situation regarding privatization while he was chairman of the Sejm Commission for Ownership Changes, and will now treat privatization as a continuous process. He wants to examine what happened in the past and draw conclusions from it. He intends to carry out the privatization in such a way that no formal criticism can be made of it.

Jerzy Osiatynski, minister of finance: "I have decided not to make any decisions for the time being, but merely to acquaint myself with the situation in the ministry, and see how the various departments work. I want to examine the state of public finances and identify possible trouble spots. One of the first things I will have to do is ease the state enterprises of their debts." The minister also said he would appoint Helena Goralska to the post of deputy minister in charge of the reforms to the budgetary and financial spheres.

Speaking about easing the debts of state enterprises, the minister said that there is already a plan of action—it just needs approval from the Polish National Bank and other banks. Asked whether this plan does not punish those enterprises that are paying their taxes and repaying their loans, and reward those that are shirking their financial responsibilities, he said: "Whenever we are about to waive debts, those enterprises that have paid off some of them always feel cheated. There is nothing one can do about that." He said certain "sanctions" are envisaged against those enterprises that have stopped paying tax and repaying their loans. One such sanction would be to replace the enterprise's supervisory board, in the case of one-man state treasury companies.

Speaking about the reform to the financing of the budget sphere and social services, Minister Osiatynski said: "I am thinking more in terms of next year's budget." He said he wants to introduce a minimal package of non-contributory social benefits. "At the same time, it is desirable to gear other benefits to market principles. Obviously, due to the meager budget, the package of non-contributory benefits can only be limited."

Speaking about the use of the $1 billion out of the zloty stabilization fund, Minister Osiatynski said: "The priorities have been established, but it is up to the Council of Ministers to decide. Every list of priorities makes sense provided it is short. Today's list of priorities may turn out to be unacceptable." The minister added that other countries that have contributed to this fund also have the right to say what should be done with this money. For example, they could insist that it be used to finance exports. Apart from that, only a small part of the fund is a gift. Most of it consists of land, that should be paid back.

Andrzej Arendarsdki, minister of foreign economic cooperation, said that one of his most important decisions, that he will make by the end of the month at the very latest, will be the distribution among foreign firms in Poland of 30,000 road vehicles that have been exempted from customs duties. This stems from the treaty on associate membership in the EC. "I will try to solve this delicate problem to our advantage," he said.

Zbigniew Eysymont, minister without portfolio responsible for promoting enterprise: He will begin his work by organizing his office, which will bring together work on private enterprise currently conducted by several ministries. The organization of the new office will be based on two departments that are currently in the Ministry of Industry and Trade: The Department for Promoting Enterprises and the department responsible for small and medium-size enterprises. About 40 people will be involved. The new minister intends to assume responsibility for, or at least closely cooperate with, the Office of Sport and Tourism, because private investment is now practically predominant within the tourism industry.

The new office will begin by preparing a comprehensive market analysis on the situation of private enterprises in Poland. What the new minister does next will depend on the results of that analysis.

We were not able to contact every minister.

Jerzy Kropiwnicki, minister in charge of the Central Planning Office [CUP]: The CUP's chief secretary told RZECZPOSPOLITA that the new minister's first decision was to ask Jerzy Eysymontt if he would be prepared to cooperate with him. The minister started work on Monday afternoon by holding a meeting lasting over three hours with part of the CUP team. A CUP employee said that the atmosphere at the CUP on Monday was one of "intensified activity." He added that the recognition granted the outgoing chief by the new CUP chief was received well by many employees.

Waclaw Niewiarowski, ministry of industry and trade: "I would like to begin by rapidly putting forward significant economic proposals that should be included in the principles of economic policy that will be presented by the prime minister." Everything indicates that the first decisions made by the new minister will concern coal mining. It has been announced that a meeting will be held at the ministry on Wednesday attended by representatives of the coal industry, trade unions, mine directors, and representatives of the other ministries concerned: labor and social affairs, finance, and environmental protection.

The other problem that Minister Niewiarowski wants to address immediately concern shipyards. He wants to pursue an industry policy that will give a chance to all enterprises that want to work, and thus give them an opportunity to rescue themselves, is what the minister said, adding that some of them will nevertheless have to fold.

Andrzej Bratkowski, minister of construction, began his first day at the ministry by holding a meeting lasting over two hours with his closest colleagues. He told RZECZPOSPOLITA that it was too early to talk about concrete decisions, but he considers his most important task to be the formulation of a strategy concerning housing construction. For it to succeed, it is necessary to "clear the ground," that is, to translate the housing construction problems into the coherent and structured language of legislation. Another priority issue is the creation of a noncommercial system of housing loans that would be accessible to people on average incomes. An issue of great importance is the establishment of close cooperation between the ministry and local government bodies; what matters most for the proper functioning of housing construction occurs at the local government level.

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, minister without portfolio for EC affairs: "There are several issues that I consider particularly urgent: First, the institutional definition of my office—and I wish to stress that it is not a ministry—part of which was headed by an undersecretary of state until now, but there were plans to lower his status to that of director general. I still do not know which model I prefer, but it will in any case be one of three: the Spanish, the German, or the French.

"The second issue is reviving my much cherished program for a regional fund, that would operate as a high-risk fund. It would consist of loans and on completion of repayment, of grants. I envisage it amounting to about 600 million ECU's. Finally, the third issue concerns the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programs for 1990-91 and 1992. As we know, we do not have a good tradition of making use of it (only 22 percent of the PHARE for 1990-91 was used). That has to change."

Krzysztof Kilian, communications minister.

The new minister began a meeting with directors of ministry departments at 1500. Later, K. Kilian had a meeting with the outgoing head of the department, Marek Rusin. They were still talking as we went to press. During an interval, Minister Kilian told RZECZPOSPOLITA that he will make his first decisions after talking with his predecessor, who provided him with a very detailed account of the situation in the ministry.

Macierewicz Expelled From Christian National Union

LD1907174192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Text] Antoni Macierewicz, deputy leader of the Christian National Union, has been expelled from the party by a resolution of its Main Board on account of the way the implementation of the Sejm resolution on vetting was handled. The resolution of the Main Board, that was passed with a majority of votes, cites the steps taken by Macierewicz that are against the party's ideological principles as the reason for his expulsion. Deputy Ryszard Czarnecki, party spokesman, reading the text of the resolution, said that the steps did not conform to the dignity of a member of the party.

I think it is the party's mistake, Antoni Macierewicz told journalists, when commenting the Main Board's decision. The former deputy leader of the party has two weeks to appeal the decision of the Main Board to the party's court.

Decision Necessary, Not Political

LD2007121492 Warsaw PAP in English 0947 GMT 20 Jul 92

[Text] Warsaw, July 20—Deputy Chairman of the Christian National Union (ZChN) Henryk Goryszewski said Monday [20 July] that the Sunday decision by the ZChN main board to expel former ZChN deputy chairman Antoni Macierewicz from this party was necessary and was not due to political causes.

Out of 22 members of the ZChN main board only 7 were against expelling the former interior minister from the party. "This was not a unanimous but necessary decision," Goryszewski told the Warsaw radio station Zet.

According to him, it was established beyond any doubt that there were absolutely no grounds to put the names of some persons on the lists conveyed to the Sejm. It is also known that there were persons who qualified to be put there but were omitted.

The ZChN deputy chairman assumed that Macierewicz would not succeed in splitting the party.

According to an interlocutor of the Monday GAZETA WYBORCZA, Macierewicz was expelled from the ZChN because there were fears that he could win the race for the ZChN leader at the nearest congress of this party, defeating Wieslaw Chrzanowski whom he put on the lists. The interlocutor said that at recent meetings Macierewicz was enthusiastically welcomed by hundreds of people.

WEU Delegation Discusses European Security

LD1807225792 Warsaw PAP in English 1926 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Text] Warsaw, July 16—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and the delegation of the Committee for Defence Questions of the Western European Union (WEU) Parliamentary Assembly, now on a visit to Poland, discussed on Thursday [16 July] European relations and the role of European organizations in stabilizing the situation on the continent.

During the talks with the WEU guests Skubiszewski outlined Poland's security policy and above all Poland's relations with the states that had emerged from the former Soviet Union.

According to the minister, his guests showed lively interest in matters of cooperation within the Visegrad Triangle, that is between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and in modernization of the equipment of the Polish Army which uses exclusively Soviet-made arms and equipment.

Skubiszewski told reporters that both sides had discussed the failure of Europe and European bodies to help solve the Yugoslav crisis. They shared the opinion that it is necessary to coordinate actions of various European organizations to this end.

The delegation, headed by the committee's chairman Sir Dudley Smith, also met with Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz to discuss European security and the WEU's role in its guaranteeing. According to Onyszkiewicz, Poland would like to see WEU as an "European pillar of NATO."

The WEU guests were interested in Poland's assessment of the situation in Eastern Europe and the existence of nuclear weapons beyond Poland's eastern border. The sides also discussed the issue of Soviet troops stationing in Poland.

The delegation, which arrived in Poland for a three day visit on Wednesday at the invitation of the Polish Sejm (lower house) also met with representatives of the parliamentary Committees for National Defence and Foreign Affairs to discuss the possibility of creating an efficient European security system based on the WEU structures.

The guests were received by Sejm Speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski. They showed interest in current and planned legal regulations concerning the command structure of the armed forces.

Sir Dudley told reporters that his committee is preparing a detailed study on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The visit will also help WEU determine what kind of assistance it may render to those countries in future.

Agriculture, Banks To Adapt to EC Standards

LD1807221592 Warsaw PAP in English 2206 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—Two senate committees heard on Friday [17 July] information of the Ministries of Finance and Industry and Trade on adapting the Polish banking law and the Polish industrial policy to meet the EC standards.

Addressing the National Economy Committee and the extraordinary committee appointed to examine the law on ratification of the European Association Treaty, chairwoman of the National Bank of Poland (NBP) Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz stressed that the transformation of the whole banking system would take about 10 years.

Head of the NBP announced that the adapting of the banking law to the EC legal regulations would follow the reconstruction of the banking system.

Krzysztof Dabrowski from the Ministry of Industry and Trade said that the reduction of debts of state-owned enterprises and ensuring their financial fluidity were the main tasks facing the Polish industry.

The Senate Committees of Agriculture and the extraordinary committee examining the law on ratification of the European Association Treaty passed by the Sejm (lower house) on July 4 had no reservations about the act.

The committees assessed as insufficient the to date actions by the Ministry of Agriculture in view of Poland's association with the EC. The committees pointed to a pressing need of working out a Polish agriculture adjustment programme to the EC requirements.

Byelarus Envoy Notes Need for Strong Relations

LD1907095792 Warsaw PAP in English 1552 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jul, 17—The fact that Byelarus's first foreign embassy has been opened in Warsaw testifies to the importance of Poland in the new republics foreign policy, Vladimir Senko, ambassador to Poland of the Republic of Byelarus, told reporters on Friday.

Senko noted that the development of Polish-Byelarussian relations had a solid foundation in the recently-signed bilateral treaty, and he looked forward to the development of economic and trade cooperation. He added that plans to open new border crossings were of great importance in Polish-Byelarussian bilateral relations.

Ambassador Senko said that the new embassy would certainly develop contacts with Poland's Byelarussian minority, but he stressed that regulation of specific problems was a matter for the Byelarussian minority and the Polish authorities to resolve between themselves. He added that the embassy is examining plans to open a consulate in Bialystok (northeast Poland), since an estimated 300,000 ethnic Byelarussians inhabit the town and the surrounding region.

Debt Reduction Agreement Signed With Switzerland

LD1907095192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1600 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Poland and Switzerland have signed an agreement reducing the Polish debt by 50 percent, the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports. The agreement applies to medium- and long-term credits amounting to 760 million Swiss francs, covered by Swiss Government guarantees. Switzerland has also expressed its readiness to examine the possibilities of changing part of the debt into a fund earmarked for environmental protection in Poland.

Losses From Gulf War Over 2 Billion Dollars

LD1907115892 Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—Polish financial losses arising from the 1991 Gulf War are currently estimated to total 2.8 billion dollars, Jan Woroniecki, director of the U.N. Department at the Polish Foreign Ministry announced on Friday [17 July].

Woroniecki said that the figure includes claims from around 4,500 Polish citizens for losses suffered during the period August 2, 1990 to March 2, 1991, the period covered by the United Nations resolution relating to compensation claims.

The Polish claim will be forwarded to the U.N. Compensation Committee in Geneva before the end of the year.

'No Need for Government Approval' on Wage Accord

LD1907114892 Warsaw PAP in English 1601 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—Wage demands by Poland's striking miners are "outside the scope of the discussions with the government," Henryk Goryszewski, deputy prime minister for economic affairs, announced on Friday [17 July], after walking out of discussions in Warsaw between representatives of the government and the miners.

"We now live in an economic system where enterprises are autonomous and self financing. That applies to the mining industry, and if directors sign a pay agreement, there is no need for government approval," he said.

But he warned that directors of enterprises should not sign pay agreements when they know that the enterprise will be unable to find the extra money. In such instances, he said, "if I come across a director signing a pay agreement where money is not available, then he will be immediately dismissed."

Meanwhile, managing directors of 60 mines in the Katowice region Friday afternoon agreed on pay rises for miners following their talks with trade unionists.

Authorities Recover Missing Cesium-137 Capsule

LD1807154492 Warsaw PAP in English 1521 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Koszalin, July 18—Local police have seized one of the two capsules containing radioactive caesium-137 that had been stolen from a Russian garrison in the Koszalin Province, north-west Poland, earlier this month. The person that carried the capsule has escaped, the police sources said on Saturday and added that the area where the capsule was found is radiologically safe. The capsule weighing 90 kgs was handed over to representatives of the Russian garrison command at Borne-Sulinowo from where it vanished on July 7. Police continue search for the other capsule and the fifth member of a gang of Russian soldiers of the former Soviet troops responsible for stealing the isotope. Four other men were detained earlier this week.

State of Disaster Declared in Drought-Hit Province

LD1707202892 Warsaw PAP in English 1829 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Excerpt] Koszalin, July 17—A state of natural disaster was declared on Friday [17 July] in Koszalin Province (north-western Poland), in moves to tackle the crisis caused by the continuing drought.

Water levels in the rivers and lakes of the province have fallen drastically, and the area has recently suffered a series of forest fires. [passage omitted]

Spokesman on Former Soviet Army Personnel Data

LD1707121192 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1000 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] There are still about 20,000 soldiers of the former Soviet Army and over 20,000 medical, auxiliary staff, and civilians in garrisons of those armed forces on our territory, Colonel Stefan Golebiowski, press spokesman for the government's plenipotentiary for the stationing of the armed forces of the former Soviet Army in Poland, has announced.

These armed forces have been using about 65,000 hectares of land. The Russians claim that there are no combat aircraft in Poland. According to Polish information there are still 21 of them.

The Polish side never had any basic data on the numbers of soldiers of the former Soviet Army in Poland, Col. Golebiowski explained. He also noted that even in recent times there was no Polish control of the airfields used by the Russians, the port of Swinoujscie, as well as the numbers of civilian population residing in the garrisons. That is why the data on these might differ so much, Col. Golebiowski added.

Suchocka Attends Central European Initiative

WA2007121592

For reportage on the attendance of Prime Minister Suchocka at the Central European Initiative summit in Vienna, including her talks with Austrian President Klestil, see the International Affairs section of the 20 July West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Communique on Ships Stopped Due to FRY Embargo

AU1707184092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1709 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/7/1992—The Transport Ministry has announced that on July 17, the situation of the ships in the Romanian ports or in march on the Danube: In the nine Romanian ports there are 170 ships under operation and 277 waiting for operation, while other 151 ships are in march on the Danube.

As a result of the embargo on Yugoslavia there were stopped five Romanian barges loaded with soy-beans and 16 Austrian barges, two Romanian ones respectively, loaded with black oil, gasoline and diesel oil for Yugoslavia. There were also stopped 14 Romanian barges loaded with maize and pyrites, the products originating from Yugoslavia to be discharged in Regensburg (Germany) and in Ukraine. Other 13 Yugoslav barges are waiting for operation in the Romanian ports.

The Transport Ministry draws the attention that the aforementioned ships were loaded before the embargo or arrived in ports after it came into force.

Moldovan Ambassador Views Negotiations, 14th Army

AU1807194192 Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 15 Jul 92 pp 1, 4

["Exclusive" interview with Moldovan Ambassador Aurelian Danila by Gheorghe Chiriac; date and place not given: "The Republic of Moldova Will Not Allow the Holy Body of the Country Be Torn Into Pieces!"]

[Text] [Chiriac] Mr. Ambassador, how do you view the results of the Moscow meeting between President Mircea Snegur and President Boris Yeltsin and the meeting between the foreign ministers of Russia, Ukraine, Romania, and Moldova?

[Danila] I believe that since something important had to be done to change the course of tragic events in the eastern rayons of our republic, it was necessary to hold such a meeting first. Unlike the previous meeting in Istanbul, concrete issues were approached at the highest level in Moscow, and ways to find peaceful solutions, through negotiations, to the violence on the banks of the Dniester were discussed. The agreements that were reached are well-known now. The Moscow meeting was also very important because the international community had an opportunity to learn the truth about what is going on in the Dniester region, and could realize that the tragic situation in the conflict area has more nuances than what is presented falsely by the Moscow media and particularly by the Ostankino television channel. Even here, in Bucharest, many Western correspondents showed keen interest in the truth, and now they can report it better to their audiences. You also know that initially we lost the war of information! Things are in better shape today, and this is necessary in order to break the wave of lies that is coming from the separatists and their allied forces.

[Chiriac] We wonder whether the understandings reached during the talks at Trubetskoy Palace will be able to establish the necessary peace to permit the cease-fire operation to function?

[Danila] I want to tell you that sooner or later, a cease-fire will have to be achieved through peaceful means, through negotiations. Neither Russia nor Moldova can maintain an armed conflict without attracting disapproving public opinion. A war waged by Russia on foreign territory of an independent and sovereign state means a deliberate violation of the norms of international law, a situation that cannot continue to be unsanctioned.

Certainly, we need calm and tranquility in our eastern rayons more than ever before. The situation, when there were no discussions or negotiations between President Boris Yeltsin and President Mircea Snegur, and when they were mutually briefing each other about events in the Dniester Region, suited Smirnov's separatists. Now, when there is a peace plan, so to speak, they began to get increasingly agitated. They continue to trouble the waters. As a matter of fact, the guardsmen have openly declared: "No matter what decisions are made, we will fight for an independent Dniestrian republic." In other words, now they want neither autonomy nor federalization. They seek a scenario of total separation! It is impossible to establish a state on the territory of another state, not even with the help of certain foreign armed forces, because the respective country has its own laws and observes the laws of its land. It has a parliament, a government, and a president elected by the entire nation, who will not allow the holy body of the country to be torn to pieces!

[Chiriac] What can you tell us in connection with what has been agreed upon regarding the withdrawal of the Russian Federation's 14th Army from Moldova?

[Danila] This foreign army should be withdrawn unconditionally now. The Moldovan authorities have been very understanding about this situation, given the conditions when the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Afghanistan, East Germany, and other countries in East Europe caused great material difficulties for Russia. We did not want to throw them out into the street and leave the 14th Army soldiers and their families without shelter. When they began to get involved, siding with the separatists, and carrying out those bloody deeds in Tiraspol, Tighina, Dubasari, Cosnita, and other areas, we understood that our humane and generous attitude was being thrown back in our faces! That is what makes us hold firm as far as the unconditional withdrawal of the 14th Army from Moldovan territory is concerned.

[Chiriac] Do you wish to send a message to the readers of our newspaper?

[Danila] I take this opportunity to express heartfelt thanks to all Romanians, every individual, society, association, and trade union, who, on the basis of our community of nations and language and on the basis of our fraternal ties, have granted us and continue to give us very precious humanitarian assistance in the difficult situation that we are currently facing. Our people, who have suffered from the actions of separatists and guardsmen, as well as other citizens of our republic, benefit directly from this assistance. This is more than just moral support. It generates a feeling of brotherly solidarity between Romanians on both sides of the Prut River and makes this feeling stronger.

Kyrgyz Minister Praises Ties, Comments on Dniester

AU1707184292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1615 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/7/1992—"I see Romania as a key-country in Central and Eastern Europe, a country that is industrially developed and has different economic structures, a fact which makes us give bilateral relations a great importance. Of course, we are mainly interested in economic and commercial relations, but also in the cultural and humanitarian ones. I should like to point out that Romania was the first East European country to establish diplomatic relations with us and the visit by Mr. Adrian Nastase is the first visit of an East European foreign minister" said Mr. Murat Imanaliyev, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, after the talks he had with the Romanian foreign minister during the latter's visit to that country.

Mr. Imanaliyev went on to say: "I think the problem of the Dniester region must be analyzed in the light of the UN and CSCE documents. It is necessary to rigorously observe the current borders, an aspect stipulated by the documents and which represents the juridical basis of inter-state relations."

Minister Receives Chinese Economic Delegation

AU1707184592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1616 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/7/1992—The stage of the economic and commercial relations between Romania and China was approached during the interview held in Bucharest on 17 July between Constantin Fota, Minister of Trade and Tourism, and Gu Yonjiang [name as received], Deputy Minister of the Economic and Commercial Relations with Foreign Countries, Deputy Chairman of the Romanian-Chinese Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Collaboration, head of the Chinese delegation.

New domains and forms of bilateral collaboration were found which might better correspond to the new conditions of passing to the market economy in the two countries.

The Chinese delegation paid an official visit to Romania over July 13-17.

FPCD Criticizes Snegur for Yielding to Moscow

AU1707190592 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 10 Jul 92 pp 1, 4

[Declaration by the Christian Democratic Popular Front, FPCD, of Moldova issued on 7 July; place not given: "Snegur Has Again Yielded to Moscow"]

[Text] Starting from the decision made at the meeting of the CIS heads of state, that was accepted by President Snegur and endorsed by the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova regarding the introduction of military troops from Russia, Ukraine, Byelarus, Bulgaria, and Romania as buffer troops in the Dniester zone, and bearing in mind the intention of the president of the republic to submit the documents on Moldova's joining the CIS states for ratification by the parliament, the Christian Democratic Popular Front [FPCD] declares:

That the decision aims to maintain the Republic of Moldova within Russia's sphere of influence. CIS Armed Forces, that are the same as the Soviet Army, cannot participate in the settlement of the military conflict in this zone and neither can Russia, which has actually begun this war against the Republic of Moldova. Accepting the fact that the troops of the aggressor state are participating in this peace mission is further proof that the current leadership of the Republic of Moldova has not relinquished its tactic of constantly yielding and is not able to ensure the independence of the Republic of Moldova. The time has come to recall that in the fall of 1990 the same leadership invited General Shatalin's troops to settle the conflict in the south of the republic; in fact, however, they ensured the proper holding of the anticonstitutional referendum plotted by Lukyanov and organized by the Gagauz separatists. Under these circumstances, we have to recognize that we were wrong to trust President Snegur when he decreed a state of emergency. We really thought that through joint efforts we would be able to withstand Russian aggression. However, later developments demonstrated that the state of emergency was just a farce. Once it was decreed, the leading circles at all levels started a campaign to discredit the FPCD members and intellectuals, to push them to the periphery, and to slander the national liberation movement on the whole; this campaign is taking alarming proportions going as far as direct threats of physical extermination of the members of that movement. All this is taking place while a large number of FPCD ordinary and leading members joined the voluntary formations, police, riflemen, and the ranks of the National Army, while many of them lost their lives on the battlefield or were wounded, and while some of the members of this movement are in Tiraspol prisons to this very day. The organization that has assumed the Christian mission to distribute aid to refugees and to the fighters in the forefront is being slandered in a most cynical way. The FPCD, whose merit it is to have informed the international bodies and diplomatic missions about the Russian aggression against the Republic of Moldova and about the crimes committed by the aggressor, is being pursued.

Attempts are being made to push this movement to the periphery, a movement whose appeals have been answered by Amnesty International, the European Christian Democratic Union, the Christian Democratic International, and, finally, by the Congress of the U.S. Senate through the adoption of the Pressler amendment on 1 July 1992.

The purpose of this diversion is obvious: to conceal the inability to solve the serious economic and political problems, to relinquish any responsibility toward the people for the disastrous consequences of this war, and to freely pursue the trend toward the restoration of the Russian empire. Those in power, who are represented by the former party nomenklatura, are trying to eliminate the FPCD—which will never put up with treason or traitors—from the political arena at all costs. Neither will it tolerate a new imperialist joke.

The reports from the front are more and more alarming these days. The lack of elementary care on behalf of the state power bodies for those who have been in trenches for months without the necessary equipment, food, or clothes is disappointing to the combatants who have begun to ask themselves—especially after the meeting of the CIS chiefs of state and after the latest parliament decisions—for whom and for what are they fighting?

Although the leadership of the republic has repeatedly termed Russian interference in the domestic affairs of the Republic of Moldova an aggression, those statements have yielded no results. The national economy and activity of the state bodies have not attempted to reject this aggression. On the contrary, a revanchist communist government was formed, and the leadership of the republic, instead of asking Western countries for help, has once again proffered us to Moscow, thus marking a serious diplomatic failure. It should be mentioned that Shevardnadze, who is in the same situation, did not call occupation troops to Georgia.

The war in Moldova and the one in Georgia are inspired by the same source, and the goal of this war is to force us to remain within the Russian empire, called the CIS, at any cost.

Under these circumstances, the FPCD calls on the deputies representing it to clearly specify their position toward the obviously pro-Moscow stance of the authorities of our republic, that is hampering the achievement of the objectives of the national liberation movement.

We call on all members and supporters of the FPCD, and on all those who continue to be faithful to the national ideals to prove cohesion and not to lose hope. Our struggle for independence and the country's reunification will continue despite the difficulty of the conditions and how many attempts are made to subjugate us. There is no force able to smother our desire for freedom and the reunification of our nation.

FPCD president, Mircea Druc

President of the Executive Committee of the FPCD Council, Iurie Rosca

7 July 1992

Nomination of Mihai for President Discussed

AU1807190392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1645 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/7/1992—"I do not think Mr. Iliescu can defeat Romania's former King Mihai", National Liberal Party [PNL] President Radu Campeanu told a press conference on 18 July, after the party's leading body met in session.

Asked to give his reasons for choosing the former king Mihai as his party's candidate for president, Mr. Campeanu said "this is not a nomination, it's just a proposal that duly considers realities in Romania today. In politics there is efficiency, there is achievement, and there is truth", he noted.

Showing that the former monarch had not been consulted beforehand, Mr. Campeanu said that in the event the nomination was turned down, the party's executive board was empowered by the standing delegation to name another candidate.

As to future electoral alliances, Mr. Campeanu said "any alliance that supports Mihai's nomination will be accepted".

"I find the proposal extremely helpful" Radu Campeanu added. "I would be happy if it became a fact. It would actually mark a turning point in the Romanian people's political life", he said.

Leon Nica Announces Candidacy, Comments on Rivals

AU1707174392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] During a news conference organized in Bucharest, Mr. Leon Nica, president of the Free Democratic Party [PLD] announced his candidacy for Romania's presidency.

During the news conference, he also presented Romania's economic and social recovery program, elaborated in two variants: One plan in which the West assists Romania, and one in case the country has to rely on its own resources.

Talking about his candidacy, Mr. Leon Nica assessed himself as the candidate of the people, of the many and poor, also mentioning that in his opinion, the stand he took before and after December 1989 serves him as a moral guarantee. In that context, the PLD president highlighted the necessity that the press, the radio, and television should present a moral x-ray of all candidates for Romania's presidency.

Speaking about the other candidates, Mr. Leon Nica assessed that the flood of presidential candidates is part of the routine to be expected in post-revolutionary times.

Asked about the most significant candidate, Mr. Nica singled out President Ion Iliescu, reasoning that Mr. Iliescu has the administrative machinery, radio, television, and the Democratic Convention on his side. The latter sided with Iliescu the moment it elected, as its sole candidate, a person who held office in the former Communist Party.

UDMR To Back Democratic Convention Candidate

AU1707102292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0722 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/7/1992—The issues discussed at the sitting of the presidium of the Harghita branch of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, UDMR, and the conclusions on the activity of UDMR parliamentary group were the centerpieces of a July 16, press conference, held in Bucharest and attended by UDMR Chairman Geza Domokos and Senator Attila Verestoy.

The UDMR chairman mentioned that the party he is head of would run on separate tickets in the coming elections, with its own badge, but would respect the principles of the Democratic Convention, CD, it is part of. On the same line of thought, Mr. Geza Domokos announced that UDMR would back professor Emil Constantinescu, the sole CD candidate for Romania's presidency.

As for the activity of the UDMR parliamentary group, Senator Attila Verestoy said: I hope that the UDMR group has succeeded to prove that they want the democratisation of the whole Romanian society and the creation of the structures of a state of law. He added "we have tried to find a line so that a majority understand and enjoy the presence of a minority."

Democratic Convention Protests TV Appointment

AU1707184392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1640 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/7/1992—In a communique sent to the ROMPRES national news agency, the Democratic Convention expresses its protest against the situation existing in the Romanian radio and television in the eve of the electoral campaign, against the appointment—made by President Ion Iliescu—of Razvan Theodorescu in the Audio-Visual National Council.

"We demand that Romania's Government—which has pledged in front of the internal and international public opinion that it would ensure free and fair elections—should intervene immediately and give the Romanian radio and television the status of public instance subordinated to the national interest, not to the interests of a political party or of a person involved in the election campaign," reads inter alia the note of protest.

Izetbegovic Says Cease-Fire Makes 'Sense'

LD1707152492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd had talks in Sarajevo today with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, Presidency members Mirko Pejanovic and Ejup Ganic, and Premier Jure Pelivan.

Alija Izetbegovic's adviser, Kemal Muftic, told journalists afterwards that Hurd came to Sarajevo to investigate the possibilities for a cease-fire and the continuation of the talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Izetbegovic conveyed to Hurd his well-known stand that it is not a classic war that is being waged in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but rather it is "an attack by a strong, equipped army".

According to Muftic, Hurd stated that the EC and the United Nations firmly support the idea of the indivisibility of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Izetbegovic said that a cease-fire "made sense", but that it would, as Muftic reported, mean "recognition of the occupation" for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Two more months remain in which to resolve the situation, but if the present situation continues into the winter, Izetbegovic said in the talks with Hurd, according to Muftic, that would be tragic.

Panic Arrives in Sarajevo Amid Artillery Fire

LD1907155892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1456 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 19 July (TANJUG)—General Lewis MacKenzie, UNPROFOR's [United Nations Protection Force] commander in Sarajevo, today sent a sharp protest to the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina because of artillery fire in the immediate vicinity of Sarajevo Airport. The shots came from the parts of Sarajevo controlled by Muslim forces, SRNA reports.

All this was happening as UNPROFOR's plane carrying Milan Panic, president of the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was landing at Sarajevo Airport.

Meets With Izetbegovic; Asseses Talks

LD1907184392 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Text] [Announcer] Our colleague Nikola Bilic has just entered the studio. He spent most of today at the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] headquarters to monitor for us the talks between Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Mr. Milan Panic, who arrived from the FRY.

[Bilic] Talks between Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic and President Milan Panic lasted over two and a half hours. After the talks, as President Izetbegovic was heading for the door to leave the UNPROFOR headquarters, shells were heard exploding near the building.

Dozens of reporters waited for over an hour for FRY Government President Milan Panic to appear. At an improvised news conference, Panic said briefly that he asked Izetbegovic if he wanted peace or war. Then we will talk about peace, he said. Asked if he would recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina, he replied "yes," providing the Serbs are given all rights. He said, I am slightly tired of trying to convince Izetbegovic that all three sides are to blame for the war and that it does not matter to what extent the sides are responsible. We agreed that weapons in the hands of both sides around Gorazde should be put under UN control. The United Nations will be allowed to collect the weapons. We will transfer the tanks from around Gorazde to Yugoslavia and will keep them under control until the United Nations takes over control of the area. I plan to collect the guns that belong to Serbia and to put them under UN control, as well as the Muslim-owned weapons. I cannot give General MacKenzie an entire tank but can give him a part of one. I hope that President Izetbegovic will do the same, Milan Panic said.

We also waited for about 40 minutes to hear his statement in Serbo-Croatian. Here is a recording of it:

[Begin recording] [Bilic] Are you satisfied with the outcome of the negotiations?

[Panic] I will only be satisfied when I learn that Mr. President Izetbegovic has kept his word.

[Unidentified reporter] When will you withdraw the Yugoslav People's Army from Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Panic] I would take it as soon as I could; but I think they have all gone already.

[Bilic] Will you recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Panic] As soon as there is peace, it will be recognized. [end recording]

[Bilic] That is all. After that, President Milan Panic and his entourage boarded an UNPROFOR vehicle and left for the airport.

Izetbegovic Views Discussions

LD1907193492 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Statement by Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic after talks with Federal Republic of Yugoslavia President Milan Panic in Sarajevo—live]

[Text] I finally met Mr. Panic at his request. My impression is that he is an interesting and colorful person, maybe even an honest man, but it seems that he is probably not a well-informed man. Also, I have doubts about his ability to implement—not about whether he wants them—some of the ideas that he was talking to me about. I openly told him this. He called on me to join him so we could be the creators of peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Balkans. I would be very happy if this were possible.

I made a proposal to test his abilities in two area—in Sarajevo and in Gorazde. I told him to call on the Yugoslav Army, paramilitary Serb units—or as we call them, chetniks—to stop attacks on Sarajevo and Gorazde. This was just before the famous 1800 cease-fire was to come into effect. He said that he would do that after our meeting, and I think he went to issue that order. Now it is left for us to check whether Mr. Panic can ensure the cease-fire or not.

I also suggested to him that the artillery around Sarajevo be withdrawn and concentrated at the locations earlier agreed with the UN Protection Force. He accepted this and suggested that the heavy artillery around Gorazde be withdrawn to Serbia, which I also accepted. He even suggested that we make a joint trip to Gorazde and said that our arrival would stop the war in Gorazde. I concluded from this that he is not a well-informed man.

Having all this in mind, I tried to set out for him some facts about Bosnia-Hercegovina. He does not believe in the existence of concentration camps in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He has the impression that Serbs and Muslims are fighting each other in Sarajevo. He does not believe in mass murders all over Bosnia-Hercegovina. He does not know who started the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. His information about the military equipment of certain sides involved in the Bosnia-Hercegovina conflict is completely inaccurate. He mentioned our Bosnian army of 100,000 soldiers, an army which has 150 tanks and as far I remember some 300-400 guns. I told him that I would be happy if that was the case, but unfortunately it is not the case.

So now we have to see the results of this test, as it is now 1930. If Mr. Panic can influence the events on the other side, then Gorazde should be peaceful by now, and we should not have any more shelling in Sarajevo.

'Fresh Casualties' Reported in Sarajevo

LD2007083192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 20 Jul 92

[Text] And now the latest from Bosnia and Hercegovina—In spite of the London cease-fire agreement coming into effect at six yesterday evening, fresh casualties have been reported in the Bosnian capital. Serbian insurgents have been pounding the town since last night, killing five and injuring six persons. All sections of the town came under fire, with the gravest damage being inflicted on the Stari Grad [Old City] and Dobrinja areas.

Humanitarian Airlift to Sarajevo Suspended

LD2007131392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1204 GMT 20 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, July 20 (TANJUG)—Flights bringing relief supplies for people in Sarajevo were suspended Monday [20 July] morning because of heavy overnight fighting in the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and near the airport.

In Geneva, spokesman of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Silvana Foa said that the airport had been closed temporarily and would reopen when conditions permit it.

A U.N. spokesman, Major Andrew Venus, confirmed in Zagreb that the relief flights had been suspended "because of the proximity of shelling" and the fact that splinters were flying across the airfield.

At the same time, a spokesman of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Sarajevo said the shelling caused no damage to the airport and the runways had no craters preventing their use. Fighting with small arms took place near the airport but there were no casualties, the spokesman said.

Under an agreement signed in London on Friday by the leaders of the three national parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina, a two-week ceasefire in this war-battered former Yugoslav Republic was to come into effect at 6 p.m. local time (16:00 hours GMT) on Sunday.

The airport was under artillery fire from Muslim districts in its vicinity also on Sunday, immediately before the landing of an UNPROFOR plane with Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic.

The commander of the U.N. forces in Sarajevo, General Lewis Mackenzie of Canada, on Sunday strongly protested against that with the presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is without legally elected representatives of Serbs.

Karadzic: Muslim Forces Behind Sarajevo Shelling

LD2007133792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 20 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Jul (TANJUG)—The goal of last night's shelling of the airport and the UN Protection Force headquarters, at the same time as Milan Panic's visit to Sarajevo, was to convince the first prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that there is no chance for a cease-fire, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stated to TANJUG today.

Shells were fired from Muslim positions on Mojmilo hill to prevent, among other things, a meeting between Panic and representatives of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic stated.

Supporting an immediate cease-fire, the president of the Presidency of Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina expressed his belief that the Republic of Croatia must come under the same international pressure as is the case, unjustly, only with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. All three warring sides must be exposed to this pressure, but while the Muslim side harbors hopes of international military intervention, it will certainly not stop shooting, Karadzic stated.

He noted that immediately before and after the beginning of the latest cease-fire, Muslim artillery launched fierce attacks on Serb districts and explosions could be heard most frequently in Hadzici, Ilidza, and Ilijas.

Karadzic links last night's attacks with the current practice of Muslim forces to organize their "bloody street show" for Sarajevo inhabitants always at the time of a session of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina or during a visit by eminent guests to the city. The president of the Presidency of Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina said that, as a rule, Serbs are blamed for street massacres, and he is therefore advising the citizens of Sarajevo to stay indoors as soon as they hear that foreign guests are coming to their city.

Croatian Army Reportedly on Offensive

LD2007103192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0918 GMT 20 Jul 92

[Text] Bileca, 20 Jul (TANJUG)—The 14-day cease-fire between the warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina, signed in London and which came into force yesterday at 1800, is being respected on the Mostar front. However, there was no peace during the night and this morning on the Trebinje-Dubrovnik front, where the Croatian army, following the occupation of 25 percent of the territory of Trebinje municipality, is persistently attacking in an attempt to make an even deeper penetration toward Trebinje itself.

According to a statement from the information service of Hercegovina Corps, Croatia's forces did not succeed in breaking the Serb defense, which has been resisting the superior enemy for two months.

The Republic of Croatia, according to the opinion of the command of the Hercegovina Corps and following the latest attacks on the Serb defenders, did not sign any agreement, so it does not have any responsibility to respect the London agreement.

The Hercegovina Corps in Bileca has gathered a great deal of evidence indicating that regular units from the Republic of Croatia are fighting on the Trebinje-Dubrovnik front. According to this evidence, in the last 15 days the 1st Zagreb, 2d Dugoselska, 4th Split, 102nd, 114th, 163d, and 115th Brigades of the Croatian National Guard were engaged in this area. These brigades are mostly made up of young men from the areas of Varazdin, Zagreb, Rijeka, Sibenik, Zadar, Omis, Sisak, Samobor, Dugo Selo, Imotski, Metkovic, Dubrovnik, and other Croatian towns and cities.

Cease-Fire Not Observed in Jajce

AU2007122492 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 20 Jul 92

[Text] Our correspondent Mehmed Buhic reports that the cease-fire has not been observed in Jajce either. The explosions of mortar bombs could be heard the entire night even in the town center. Jajce continues to be a surrounded town that nobody can leave or enter.

Minister Discusses Peace Talks, Use of Force

LD1807185692 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Interview with Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic by correspondent Francine Stock in London on the "Newsnight" program—live]

[Text] [Stock] Mr. Silajdzic, you heard Mr. Karadzic, there, saying you wouldn't talk face-to-face about peace with them. He also says that you may break the cease-fire. What grounds for optimism are there over this new agreement?

[Silajdzic] All it takes is for those who started this war, for those who hold the weapons, to stop it. That's all it takes. But the problem is they have a program, and the program is creating a greater Serbia. That is in their program. They are ready to lose—it's written down—100,000 people in order to achieve their sacred goal, and they are, of course, ready to sacrifice much more other people. They are doing it right now, expelling. We have about 2 million people outside and about 50,000 people killed. So, the project goes on.

Optimism? Well, I have some optimism. Why? Because the message is getting across to the international community that there is a genocide going on there; that it's not fighting there, it is an aggression; that a defenseless population is attacked and it must defend itself; that the Serbians have 400 tanks there and 88 aircraft against a civilian population. So, this is a genocide there. That message, the news of deportations, of concentration camps—we have 27 concentration camps. People are deported in sealed wagons. These messages are getting across slowly to the international community. I don't think that the international community is prepared to watch this for long now.

[Stock] Now, you want military intervention. What form of intervention do you want?

[Silajdzic] Well, we want peace there. We want the aggression stopped. If that can be brought about by peace, the better. Until now, the aggressor has refused to do that. We always asked not for ground troops but for the aircraft to be controlled, our airspace, because it's violated by the Serbian aircraft, and for the heavy artillery to be placed under international control. Now, today, we have an agreement for the heavy artillery and aircraft to be placed under the international control, and the Security Council is asked by all three parties and by

Lord Carrington to, as soon as possible, make arrangements for the supervision and mechanisms of supervision to be reached.

[Stock] The Serbs were saying today that they wanted some kind of green-line arrangement. Would you be in favor of that?

[Silajdzic] Green-line arrangement? One should know what is Bosnia-Hercegovina to understand, that Bosnia-Hercegovina is a multiethnic society for hundreds of years. That idea of dividing city and transferring population from one side of the city to another, from one part of the state to another, is a monstrous idea. It's a monstrous and absurd idea, a totally nondemocratic, actually a fascist idea.

[Stock] But do you understand that it seems impossible now, given that you can't even talk face-to-face about peace, that you can return to the status quo ante, to the position before the conflict began?

[Silajdzic] To say that is to accept might is right; that the force, the use of force pays; that in the heart of Europe, in the 20th Century, that as long as you have tanks and aircraft you can have what you want. I do not think that, as I said, the international community is prepared to endure this anymore.

Serbian Autonomous Region Government 'Dismantled'

LD1707164392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1509 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Bileca, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—The president of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina's Assembly announced today that "the government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina has been dismantled."

This decision was made today in the absence of the press at a consultative meeting in Bileca attended by the presidents of all Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina municipalities. The meeting was convened by Bozidar Vucurevic, president of the Assembly of this Serbian autonomous region.

The meeting was held behind closed doors. President Vucurevic briefed the press on the Assembly's most important decision after the meeting.

Vucurevic stressed that this decision "was made in compliance with the constitution of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina" and that the present functions of the government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina would be taken over by a political council and a council for political matters.

The press was briefly told that these advisor bodies were formed at today's session.

The government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina was formed in November last year at the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina's Assembly in Trebinje. Milorad Bojovic, a lawyer from Bileca, was elected its president.

There has been no official information so far about disputes between Vucurevic and Bojovic. Those familiar with the situation in eastern Hercegovina have noticed recently that the relationship between the two leaders has been strained, to say the least.

Their mutual accusations refer mostly to the way Hercegovina's problems have been tackled and the strategy of getting out of the maelstrom of war, while Bojovic is also accused of poor organization regarding the distribution of the aid that has been received. There are also rumors about "this aid coming through secret channels."

Vucurevic, who is also president of the Trebinje branch of the Serbian Democratic Party, proposed that Bojovic hold this post.

Government Rejects Ethnic 'Regionalization'

LD2007131292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1151 GMT 20 Jul 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 20 Jul (TANJUG)—The government in Sarajevo, loyal to Alija Izetbegovic, has decided to reject the concept of the territorial organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina on an ethnic basis, which was proposed at the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina in Lisbon.

According to sources close to the government in Sarajevo, the new concept of regionalization bases all rights, including the right of nationality, on the right of individual citizens.

The number of regions has not yet been specified, but it is certain that Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla, and Banja Luka should have their own regions.

The competence of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina should be based on the unified system of state authority, which implies unified defense, internal affairs, foreign affairs, and legal and economic systems.

The concept advocated by the authorities in Sarajevo contradicts the demands of Croat and Serb leaders in Bosnia-Hercegovina, who want an agreement on the future of the republic between the three nationalities.

Serbs Support Panic Peace Efforts

LD1807195792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1844 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Sarajevo, July 18 (TANJUG)—Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina are prepared to help Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic in his international efforts to end war and resume talks, Nikola Koljevic, a Bosnian Serb leader, told TANJUG on Saturday [18 July].

Koljevic said that the Serbs had given enough proof that their aims and those of Prime Minister Panic are the same—to end war and find a peaceful solution to problems.

This has been evident in all the Serbs' initiatives—from unilateral ceasefires, through the reopening of Sarajevo airport to humanitarian flights, to the latest ceasefire, signed in London on Friday, said Koljevic.

In connection with requests that Serbia and Yugoslavia recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina as an independent state, he said it was those states' decision.

Serbia has so far had the right attitude, said Koljevic. He said he was not against recognition after agreement has been reached at a conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina between its Moslems, Serbs and Croats, which has been initiated by the European Community.

The E.C recognized Bosnia-Hercegovina as an independent state on April 7, before the end of the conference, triggering civil war in that multi-ethnic former Yugoslav republic.

"We have seen what recognition [word indistinct] political solutions means, and I have told so to (chairman of an E.C.-sponsored conference on Yugoslavia) Lord Carrington," said Koljevic.

Whatever the decision of Serbia and Yugoslavia, it would not be binding on the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said Koljevic. "We are fighting for our status in Bosnia-Hercegovina," he said and explained that Bosnian Serbs "have already agreed not to change the republic's borders on condition that it should be reorganized internally."

"Therefore, there is no reason for concern about Bosnia-Hercegovina's borders," he said.

Serbia and, lately, the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, have been accused of an intention to carve up Bosnia-Hercegovina, which has for more than three months been torn by fierce clashes between its Moslems and Croats, on the one side, and its Serbs, on the other.

1,000 Serbs Discovered in Odak Mass Grave

LD1907145192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Excerpt] Odzak, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Following the liberation of Odzak, the largest mass grave of Serbs was discovered at the local stadium. According to witnesses around 1,000 Serbs from the villages of Novi Grad, Donja Dubica, and Krnjak were buried there.

For more than three months they were exposed to unbearable torture at the stadium. Many died from hunger and torture, and a smaller number was moved across Sava River, mainly to Slavonski Brod, where they were used as workforce on local farms.

Croatian forces did not keep records about the names of the casualties but it is known that whole families from Odzak and Serb villages around Odzak disappeared. [passage omitted]

Muslim Party Criticizes Croatian 'Impertinence'

LD1907204292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Text] The Zenica municipal committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] supports the stands adopted at the joint expanded session of the [Presidency of] the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the stands concerning the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. The Zenica SDA has already found common ground with the HVO forces which believe that Bosnia-Hercegovina should be one country and its borders inviolable, an SDA statement says, and adds that the Zenica SDA opposes robbery, plunder, playing around with the alleged saving of Serbs, or degrading blackmail. The recent shameful demand of the Croatian Community of Central Bosnia put to the municipality of Kakanj, whereby the legal bodies of authority were presented with an ultimatum to hand over all public companies in the town to the HVO within two or three days, is only one example of the impertinence of the Croatian Community of Central Bosnia.

In the village of Busovaca, local combatants have for a long time been collecting and distributing goods stolen from public and private companies in Zenica, and they make the impoverished inhabitants of Zenica pay tolls on the road for Split. We will never yield to ultimatums of provincial bandits, the statement of the Zenica SDA states in conclusion. It adds that there is always enough strength to defend political and existential dignity, but [words indistinct].

Serb Krajina Rejects Conditions for Air Traffic

LD1607173792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—Today, Slavko Prijic, head of the Presidency of the Serbian Krajina Republic in Belgrade, informed the UN that his government did not accept the conditions Croatia presented for its authorization of humanitarian flights to Udbina airport, SRNA reports.

The permanent mission of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with the UN, SRNA adds, has received a letter from the chairman of the Committee for Monitoring Sanctions of the UN Security Council, Jose Luis Jesus, which states that Croatia has approved humanitarian flights from Belgrade to Udbina provided a representative of Croatia's Air Traffic Control is present at the airport when aircraft are landing.

In his letter to Jesus, Prijic states that the airport in Udbina is sufficiently staffed and technically equipped to control flights so there is no need for any kind of help.

The airport area is under the protection of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the letter makes it clear and stresses that according to the UN peace plan the local authorities are in charge in this territory.

"We believe that the UN Committee for Monitoring Sanctions will understand that there are no reasons for the presence of a sovereign country's organs on another sovereign country's territory", the letter concludes.

Serbian Leader Criticizes Violation of Rights

LD1707180492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—Milan Djukic, the president of the Serb People's Party [SNS], today in Zagreb warned the domestic and international public about "the violation of citizens' rights of Serbs in Croatia." At a news conference, he said "some Serbs are still being taken away and some are disappearing," that their houses are being destroyed, and that they are being moved out of their apartments by force.

Djukic said that in Zagreb, for example, as his party has learned, "13 Serbs were killed, mainly after they were kidnapped."

Djukic and his assistants presented reports according to which 1,477 residential houses, 154 cars, 117 restaurants, and 60 private companies were destroyed in acts of terror in Croatia, and "property and real estate of citizens of Serbian nationality were the most frequent targets."

SNS representatives also pointed out very open accusations of collective Serbian responsibility for everything that has happened during the war.

Djukic stressed that a law-governed state must start functioning in Croatia and, in particular, criticized the authorities because of the problems that Serbs have in getting Croatian citizenship, warning that such problems do not exist in democratic countries.

Army Chief Discusses Battlefield Situation

LD1907225992 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Studio interview with Corps General Antun Tus, chief of staff of Croatian Army, by unidentified announcer—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] This evening's guest in our program is Croatian Army Chief of Staff Corps General Antun Tus. Good evening.

[Tus] Good evening.

[Announcer] General, how do you explain constant attacks on Slavonski Brod and Slavonska Posavina? Is there no way to prevent that?

[Tus] Yes, that's a good question. You see, Slavonski Brod and Slavonska Posavina are in the Republic of Croatia. Battles are being waged in the Bosnian part of the Posavina area: The Croatian Defense Council [HVO] of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Territorial Defense against the Serbian army which was formed less than two months ago in that, let us call it, new Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

A large-scale operation is now being carried out in that area. The operation involves two corps: One from the west, one from the east, a total of about 12 brigades. That is the reason why the local HVO and Territorial Defense forces have not managed to keep up the successful operations which about a month ago took them almost as far as Doboj, near Gracanica. The operation has been carried out in the past 25 days. It is true, Serbs have not achieved their goals, and that is one of the reasons [as heard]. Their aim is to reach the Sava river, the border with Croatia, in order to prevent any communications between Croatia and Bosnia, and to take Bosanski Brod. They have not managed to realize any of these goals, except on the line above Odzak all the way to Svilaj.

[Announcer] You think that they will not realize that.

[Tus] No. If they observe the cease-fire, they cannot realize it. So that the most crucial issue for the existence of the Bosnian Krajina and other Krajinas, as they call them, and of the whole of—how should I say—northern Bosnia linked with Serbia, and further toward our Croatian areas is in question. This is a corridor of survival. The corridor has now been established, but not completely, only in narrow paths, so to say. The main communication line has not been taken in its entirety. The battle for that communication line is being waged around Derventa, and partly around Brcko Orasje.

As we follow it, the situation is now such that if they observe the cease-fire—which is highly unlikely—they will most probably not reach Bosanski Brod or the Sava river. I think that the destruction of Slavonski Brod, and even of Zupanja today, and all those areas on our territory is a part of their well-known tactics for advance: Destroy, demolish and then conquer. In this case they are also trying to punish the forces which are providing adequate assistance, logistics and other kinds of assistance, to the fighting in Bosanska Posavina.

[Announcer] Despite the advance of the Croatian Army, the enemy has constantly been attacking Dubrovnik. Why are they doing it all the time, and when could they withdraw from that area?

[Tus] See, Dubrovnik has its particular importance. But now when two armies are facing each other, the Yugoslav Army in the eastern part of Konavli around Cavtat and our army, our army is engaged in an offensive operation and is preparing an offensive. In the phase of the preparatory operation, certain targets have been subject to constant mutual war actions. But the enemy is such, we had the chance to learn about it from Vukovar to Dubrovnik: It can even resort to conducting operations against such places as Dubrovnik. This shows its resolve to destroy whatever is Croatian.

[Announcer] Regardless of the fact that it will have to withdraw.

[Tus] Regardless of that. The option of its withdrawal is now even more real, because pressure has been exerted by the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], i.e. the United States, by the wider European structure and the European Conference, that the Yugo Army must withdraw peacefully. Now they are setting some conditions regarding their withdrawal, but in the meantime, in order to prevent our active attack and being expelled, they are carrying out such actions.

[Announcer] What will happen with Prevlaka?

[Tus] Prevlaka is ours and it will remain ours, and in the light of the fact that there is no change of borders, it cannot be brought into question. We can make an agreement, but between two states, for example between Croatia and Montenegro, that one zone, be it one or five km wide, can be demilitarized. But reciprocally, as much on our side as much on theirs. In this case some heavy weapons threatening the population and some facilities in peaceful conditions would not be positioned on either side.

[Announcer] Some indications appeared in the press that they will withdraw from Prevlaka. Do you know about that?

[Tus] Yes, we are in the process of negotiating, and I hope that such a meeting will take place this week at that level which will deal with the optimum approach to the way of withdrawing and solutions until Vance's plan has been completely accepted by the Yugo Army.

[Announcer] Please tell us what is happening with pink zones and generally, will the UNPROFOR do what it has to, or will we have to do it on our own?

[Tus] We accepted Vance's plan, and however it looks, it will be corrected, modified, annexed through various resolutions, i.e. it will be changed. In that way it will go. As regards to pink zones, they are really temporary, but they are here. We must establish the Croatian authorities in these zones as soon as possible. We expect this to happen in a month or two. We will do everything so that the whole action moves on in that sense. We will not disturb the function of the plan regarding the pink zones by any move.

[Announcer] And in conclusion: President Tudjman stated yesterday that he had refused to demilitarize Knin and that the Croatian Army would enter Knin. Can you confirm that?

[Tus] Certainly. The president stated that clearly and precisely. There is no agreement anywhere, at least I do not know of it, and the president says it absolutely does not exist, that demilitarizing or surrender of any part of the Croatian territory has been agreed anywhere.

[Announcer] General, thank you very much for the interview.

Passenger Transport Accord Signed With Slovenia

LD1807084692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Jul 92

[Text] This morning in Otocec ob Krki Croatian Transport Minister Dr. Josip Bozinovic and his Slovene counterpart, Marjan Krajnc, signed the first agreement on the transport of goods and passengers between the two countries. In a brief statement, the Slovene minister said that the agreement marks the beginning of solving the problems which inevitably arose when the border between Slovenia and Croatia was established, and he expressed optimism regarding the solution of transport and other problems between Croatia and Slovenia.

Hurd Doubts 'Quick Solution' to Bosnian 'Crisis'

LD1607175392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1618 GMT 16 Jul 92

[Text] Ljubljana, July 16 (TANJUG)—British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has said he has doubts about a quick solution of the war crisis in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Hurd told a press conference in Ljubljana, the first stop on his current tour of capitals of the former Yugoslav Republics, that only after meeting with the leaderships of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia and Macedonia he would obtain a "picture of the situation" and consider "possible proposals" for a settlement of the conflict.

After meeting with Slovenian President Milan Kucan, Premier Janez Drnovsek and Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel in Ljubljana, Hurd left for Zagreb where he would meet with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

His tour also includes visits to Sarajevo, Belgrade and Skopje.

After Yugoslavia, the British foreign secretary will visit Albania.

Talking to journalists in Ljubljana, Hurd was rather reserved in his comments on the Slovenian proposal for setting up security zones for refugees in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He confirmed that an international conference on refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina would be held in Geneva on July 29.

UN Not Equipped for 'Safe Havens'

LD1607150392 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1320 GMT 16 Jul 92

[By Steve Doughty of the DAILY MAIL, Ljubljana]

[Text] Britain yesterday fended off demands for safe havens to protect millions of refugees from the fighting in Bosnia.

The scheme would protect those forced from their homes by the war in the same way that John Major's safe havens operation helped Kurdish refugees who fled Saddam Husayn's armies last year.

But yesterday Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd warned that there were too few United Nations troops in the former Yugoslavia to set up the fighting-free zones—and he said he thought safe areas could ultimately prove dangerous for those fleeing to them for safety.

The plea for refugee havens came from the government of the northern Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia as Hurd passed through Ljubljana on the first stage of his peacemaking tour of the Balkans.

Slovenia's foreign minister, Dimitrij Rupel said Muslims in Bosnia were suffering from the attacks of both Serb and Croat militias fighting on their territory. "The war is being waged to the detriment of the Muslim population which both parties are trying to expel," he said. "Our proposal is for safe zones to which people in danger could flee." Slovenia has taken 70,000 of the fast-growing number of refugees from Bosnia and fears new waves are on the way.

United Nations officials estimate the current refugee total of over two million is being swelled by up to 20,000 people a day leaving their homes. But Mr Hurd said after talks with Slovenia's leaders in Ljubljana: "Safe zones would be a matter for the UN, which is not I think at the moment equipped to do that. "I think one cannot exclude an idea which can bring humanitarian help, bring safety to those who are in danger, but I believe any such proposal would need very careful examination if it was to be successful."

Mr Hurd added: "It's not something you could just do without studying very carefully obstacles and dangers, not least the dangers for those you are trying to protect." There are British fears that any concentration of refugees seeking help in Bosnia could invite attacks from Serb or other militias.

But British officials believe UN-protected areas like Sarajevo Airport and possible land corridors into Bosnia could become unofficial safe areas for those fleeing the fighting.

Mr Hurd is touring the Yugoslav republics as effective leader of the Community effort in the former Yugoslavia while Britain holds the EC presidency.

Britain and the rest of the EC will join an international conference in Geneva at the end of the month to tackle the growing refugee crisis head on.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogato, was meeting John Major in Downing Street today in a key move in her preparations for the conference.

Meanwhile Slovenia joined the growing list of nations in the queue for EC membership. Mr Hurd promised he would push for a trade and co-operation deal between the EC and Slovenia at a key meeting of Community foreign ministers in Brussels on Monday.

Once negotiations on the trade deal start, moves can begin towards the second step on the road to EC membership, an "association agreement". Such a deal would put Slovenia in line after Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the long list of applicants. John Major is keen to bring in as many qualified countries as possible as soon as they qualify for membership. Mr Rupel says: "Slovenia does aspire to full membership of the European Community."

The list of countries in the queue now runs: Sweden, Finland, Norway, Austria, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Slovenia. Turkey, Cyprus and Malta are also knocking at the door but look barred from membership in the foreseeable future.

Rupel Says Serbs, Croats Seek Division of Bosnia

LD1807091192 Berlin ADN in German 1727 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Excerpts] Ljubljana (ADN)—Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel has reiterated his accusation that Croatia, together with the the Serbs, is trying to divide the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. "They are chasing away the Muslims, the largest of the three population groups," he said in an ADN interview in Ljubljana. [passage omitted]

"Our position has always been that Bosnia-Hercegovina is a state that is recognized by many countries and that is an independent issue under international law," the top Slovene diplomat stressed. Cooperation between all three population groups is needed to end the crisis. Without such cooperation there can be no solution. "We have been defending the integrity and inviolability of the borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina for a long time. Now, however, the question of whether this is still realistic arises," Rupel said.

According to Rupel, "irritations" have developed in the relationship between Slovenia and Croatia. The Slovene foreign minister is attributing this to the election campaign in Croatia.

This week Croatia confiscated two Slovene ships and other Slovene property and unilaterally introduced a duty on goods imported from Slovenia. Out of 50 proposed agreements Zagreb has so far only accepted four, it was said in Ljubljana.

"We must find solutions for this because we will remain neighbors for the rest of our lives," Rupel said. His country does not wish to retaliate against Croatia's unilateral measures, it wants to avoid further strain on the relations: "Slovenia wants to maintain good relations based on mutual respect and equality with all states of the world." There are "absolutely no problems" in relations with Macedonia. At the moment there are no relations at all with Belgrade.

Rupel said relations with Germany are good. Germany is "particularly popular" because of its support for Slovene independence. "Regarding the economy, the republic would like to do more business with Germany. When the privatization law leads to progress in the economic reforms in Slovenia its attractiveness for German business will grow too."

Military Cooperation Agreement Signed With Hungary

AU1807194892 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Defense Minister Janez Jansa and Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur signed a cooperation agreement at Brdo near Kranj. The agreement projects cooperation that would be carried out in the spirit of mutual interests and would be realized in case of necessity and according to the wishes and resources of the two countries.

After signing the agreement, the two ministers held a brief news conference. Jansa said Fur's visit was very significant. Bilateral cooperation is developing well, there are no problems from the past, and some very good opportunities are opening up for future cooperation, Jansa said.

Fur expressed pleasure that Hungary is the first country to sign a military cooperation agreement with Slovenia, as such cooperation is of great importance for strengthening the system of European collective security.

During the talks, the defense ministers agreed that the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina may turn into a long-term conflict if there is no real foreign intervention. At the same time, they agreed that there is little possibility for intervention at the moment because the organizations that could carry it out have too many opposing interests.

Federal

Milan Panic Comments on Mitterrand Talks

LD1707190292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1751 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Paris, July 17 (TANJUG)—"If we eliminate the causes of the war (in Bosnia-Hercegovina) and restore peace, the sanctions will automatically be lifted", Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic said here on Friday [17 July] after talks with French President Francois Mitterrand.

The meeting at the Elysee Palace lasted about one and a half hours, well past the fifty minutes prescribed by the protocol.

"The meeting confirmed my belief that President Mitterrand is a champion of peace and a very courageous man," said Panic.

Sources in the two delegations say President Mitterrand was impressed with "the new approaches and elements that Prime Minister Panic presented to him in connection with his peace plan."

"I need a 100-day grace period to try to restore peace in our country," said Panic.

Panic, accompanied by Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic and personal aides Teodor Olic and Mihajlo Saranovic, arrived in Paris on Friday afternoon. After landing at the Villacoublay Military Base which is usually reserved for President Mitterrand's flights, the Yugoslav delegation went directly to the Elysee Palace.

Asked by TANJUG's correspondent whether the two sides discussed a military intervention in Yugoslavia, Panic replied: "President Mitterrand said the French Army would not wage a war on Yugoslavia."

As for the sanctions, Mitterrand said that the international community was considering a possibility of mitigating them, but that new facts were needed, "such as Serbia's recognition of the newly-created states" in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Sources in the Elysee Palace say Panic offered assurances to President Mitterrand that he was willing to make "spectacular moves and take initiatives unusual in traditional diplomatic conduct in order to overcome the current obstacles and tension." The sources also quote Panic as telling Mitterrand he had the situation in his hands, "including the situation in the military sphere."

At a crowded press conference at the Yugoslav ambassador's residence in Paris, Panic said President Mitterrand assured him that the friendly French-Yugoslav relations would be continued. "For my part, I said our country would respect the international rules of conduct and I informed President Mitterrand about a strong peace movement in Yugoslavia which I hope will overcome a possible desire for war."

Panic described the meeting in the Elysee Palace as "very constructive," and said that both sides showed understanding for current problems in the Yugoslav crisis. Particularly impressive was our mutual commitment to peace, and I can only wish that the other leaders may follow the example of President Mitterrand who promised to make very soon a symbolic move in favour of peace. Both sides declined to elaborate.

"The problems of the restoration of peace in Yugoslavia also exist in Bonn, Paris, London, Washington and elsewhere in the world", because, said Panic, "they should be persuaded that Serbia really wants peace."

The Yugoslav prime minister said he planned to go to Sarajevo tomorrow, and then to London, New York and Washington.

On his visit to Sarajevo, Panic said he would go there if "his highness" Alija Izetbegovic would receive him. "I've asked to see Mr Izetbegovic about ten times", he explained.

Asked "why the allies have betrayed us", Panic replied that in his view, "we have created problems to ourselves".

On a question of whether Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic would have to go to allow peace to be restored in Yugoslavia, Panic advised reporters to read the new Yugoslav Constitution and see what are whose competences [sentence as received].

Panic also promised to meet with ethnic Albanian leaders in the Serbian province of Kosovo-Metohija.

As for Macedonia, he said he would "try to bring it back to the Yugoslav economic orbit."

UK Foreign Secretary Hurd Meets Cosic in Belgrade

LD1807100492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0848 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—Last night, after his arrival in Belgrade from Sarajevo, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who is on a four-day Yugoslav tour, visited Dobrica Cosic, president of the FRY, the presidential office told TANJUG today.

In lengthy talks lasting over one hour, Cosic and Hurd focussed their attention on the Yugoslav crisis. The British foreign secretary conveyed to President Cosic the stance of Great Britain regarding this crisis and the determination to pave the way toward a permanent solution to the problem in the territories of former Yugoslavia during the period of the British presidency of the EC (until 31 December).

President Dobrica Cosic acquainted the guest from Great Britain with Yugoslavia's efforts and the latest initiatives to stop the armed clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as with the possibilities of achieving a permanent solution to the crisis in this republic.

Comments on Danger of Bosnian 'Fresh Explosion'

LD1807135292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said today in Belgrade that he prefers to remain a realist rather than an optimist, since, as he said, there remains a danger of a fresh explosion in Bosnia-Hercegovina and problems in Kosovo.

"I consider very important the assurances which I received in Zagreb and in Belgrade, that Croatia and Serbia will respect the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina," Hurd said at a a press conference following his meetings with Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

The British foreign secretary stressed the importance of full respect for the rights of Serbs in Croatia and Albanians in Kosovo, including the right to autonomy.

Sees No 'Difficulties' in London Agreement

LD1807194792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1753 GMT 18 Jul 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on Saturday [18 July] assessed as very important the assurances he had received in Zagreb and Belgrade that Croatia and Serbia would respect the integrity and borders of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At a news conference held after separate talks in Belgrade with Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Hurd said the above was a precondition for the realization of the agreement reached on Friday in London by Chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington and the leaders of Bosnia-Hercegovina's three constituent peoples.

Under the terms of the London agreement, the ceasefire in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where its Moslems and Croats, assisted by regular Army troops from neighbouring Croatia, have for over three months been fighting against the Serbs, will become effective at 16:00 GMT on Sunday.

During the following two weeks, all heavy weapons would be placed under the supervision of the U.N. peacekeeping force, and all refugees would be allowed to return to their homes.

This is a very significant agreement, more detailed than any before it, Hurd said, adding that he himself did not expect any difficulties in the creation of conditions for the London agreement to succeed.

Announcing that the U.N. Security Council would discuss as early as this weekend a possibility of overseeing the ceasefire, Hurd said the U.N. peacekeeping force in Bosnia-Hercegovina should be boosted by a group of observers by Monday.

In the context of the overall Yugoslav crisis, Hurd said he was a realist rather than an optimist, because, as he said, there continues to exist a danger of a new explosion on Bosnia-Hercegovina and problems in the southern Serbian province of Kosovo, populated predominantly by members of the ethnic Albanian national minority.

As far as the E.C. is concerned, the key question remains that of respecting the borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and respecting the rights of minorities—the Serbs in Croatia and ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, which remains a part of Serbia, must be guaranteed all minority rights, including the right to a special status and autonomy, said Hurd, who is now the president of the E.C. Council of Ministers.

He said Serbia's president had interpreted to him the problem of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo as that of secession rather than observance of human rights.

Yugoslavia's and Serbia's constitutions guarantee to national minorities rights which surpass those demanded by international documents.

The separatist movement of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo has been striving to break the province away from Serbia and merge with neighbouring Albania. At a referendum held last autumn, ethnic Albanians proclaimed a "Republic of Kosovo" and set up their own parallel organs of authority, ignoring the authority of the Republic of Serbia, in which they live.

The ethnic Albanians' leaders have thus far turned down [word indistinct] invitations to dialogue about contentious issues, extended on several occasions by Serbian officials and Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic.

Hurd also welcomed the diplomatic mission of Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic, who on Thursday held talks in Rome with Italian Foreign Minister Vicenzo Scorzi and in Paris with French President Francois Mitterrand. Panic said very courageous and wise things, Hurd said.

Leaves Belgrade for Skopje

LD1807165692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 July (TANJUG)—British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd today ended his brief visit to Belgrade. In the afternoon, he left for Skopje, the last stop of his four-day tour of the republics of the former Yugoslav Federation. [passage omitted]

Panic Departs for Sarajevo, Comments on Situation

AU1907152692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Text] Prior to his departure for Sarajevo, Prime Minister Milan Panic held a news conference. Slobodan Jankovic reports:

[Begin recording] In a statement made prior to leaving on a peace mission to Sarajevo, Prime Minister Panic said the following: As you know, in my role as a shuttle diplomat in the last few days, I have had the opportunity to meet Italian Foreign Minister Scotti, Mr. Mitterrand, and several days before that, Messrs. Baker and Kozyrev. As is known, I have also handed the first olive branch to Croatian President Tudjman. I support peace, Panic said.

He said, Baker asked me to start acting because Serbs talk too much. Well, today I will try to do something specific for peace. Serbs support peace, they want people to go home, and they want the question of refugees to be solved. We in Yugoslavia and I as prime minister, Panic said, have proclaimed that this country will do everything to ensure peace. We want all other countries to support peace and to remove destructive weapons wherever they may be stationed. I am going to ask every soldier and fighter on every side, Panic said—Serbian, Muslim, or Croatian—to put a white ribbon around his left arm if he supports peace so that people can know who supports peace and who does not. God help those who do not want peace, Panic said.

At the end of the brief news conference, Panic promised that the Serbian side in the Bosnia-Hercegovina conflict will be the first to begin placing its weapons under the control of the United Nations today, but he said he expects Alija Izetbegovic and Mate Boban to do the same. We are going to open areas in Sarajevo where weapons will be put away. I hope we will sell these weapons and use that money to restore Sarajevo, Panic said prior to his departure.

As has been announced, Panic will leave for New York after visiting Sarajevo, where he should meet UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali tomorrow. [end recording]

Premier Wants Germany's Yugoslav Policy To Change

LD1807220892 Berlin ADN in German 2132 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—Milan Panic, prime minister of the remainder of Yugoslavia, wants German policy toward his government to change. German policies at the United Nations and in the EC must aim to cooperate with the new government of the remainder of Yugoslavia, Panic said on ARD tonight. Bonn should help democratize his country. He intends to discuss this with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl during a visit to the Federal Republic. Preparations are currently under way for this visit. Panic emphasized that he wants to achieve a militarization of Bosnia; however, he could not say how this would happen. He is in "permanent contact with the Serbs in Bosnia," but the "paramilitary forces" are not on his side. Germany and France should use "a lot more of their influence" to achieve disarmament.

Prime Minister Leaves for New York, Washington

LD1907224592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2117 GMT 19 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic left here late on Sunday [19 July] for New York, where he is expected to meet on Monday with U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, his special envoy Cyrus Vance and other high U.N. officials.

Panic spent Sunday afternoon on a peace mission in Sarajevo, capital of the strife-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, where clashes have been in progress for over three months between the local Moslems and Croats on the one side and the local Serbs on the other.

Panic met in Sarajevo with Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, Nikola Koljevic, one of the Serbs' leaders, and General Ratko Mladic, the commander of the Army of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Panic is expected to travel after New York to Washington, where he will present to the U.S. administration his plan for ending the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, based on a demilitarization of the republic, about which he reached agreement in principle today with Izetbegovic.

Party Alliance in Serbia, Montenegro Announced

LD1807205892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—Five opposition parties in Serbia and Montenegro, the two republics which make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on Saturday [18 July] agreed in principle to form a new party bloc.

The bloc will be made up of the Serbian National Renewal (SNO) for Serbia, the SNO for Montenegro and Hercegovina, the Democratic Party of Montenegro, the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) and the Party of National Harmony.

Reporters were told after the meeting that no party in the alliance would lose its own identity.

SNO President Mirko Jovic told journalists that the next meeting would be held in Podgorica in 15 days' time, when concrete decisions would be reached on the work and programme of the alliance.

Jovic said all the parties in the bloc regarded themselves as Serbian political parties fighting against separatism.

Their aim, he said, was to "unify all Serbian territories into a single state with the same ethnic, cultural and historical tradition."

Serbia

Reportage on Hurd's Discussions With Serb Leaders

Meets With Milosevic

LD1807163192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 July (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today had talks with the British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who stopped in Belgrade yesterday on his four-day tour of the former Yugoslavia's republics. As expected they talked mostly about the possible solutions of the Yugoslav crisis, in particular about the war in Bosnia-Herecegovina.

Immediately after the end of the talks with Hurd, President Milosevic stated that this was "a very important visit, not only because Great Britain is an important factor for the solution of international problems, but also because it has taken over the role of the EC chairman."

"Taking this into consideration I am sure that Great Britain will try to help in creating an objective view of the real situation in Yugoslavia," Milosevic said and added: "If it is possible that the truth—the truth about what is happening on the Yugoslav political scene and above all about what is happening in that greatest focus of the crisis in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina—becomes available to the world public, then conditions will be created for faster lifting of sanctions and the solution of Yugoslav crisis."

Insisting on a true portrayal of the situation on the territories of former and present Yugoslavia, Milosevic stressed that "he believes that Great Britain will not permit for lies to be a basis for political decisions."

"I do not expect anyone to take sides with us, I just expect for the facts to be respected," Milosevic said, adding that after talking to Hurd he had an impression that he is a man "who certainly takes facts into account and that he will try to be objective regarding the entire crisis."

Concerning the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was dominant in the talks with Hurd, Milosevic stated that "full accordance was reached" in the judgement that two things are vital. "Let us leave the history aside and let us turn only to what is happening today. It is important that the cease-fire agreement in Bosnia-Hercegovina should be respected and we wholeheartedly support and will invest all our political influence to make sure it is respected."

Milosevic said that the second important element that Hurd agreed with was the continuation of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina. "The conference should continue on the same principle on which it started—equal respect for the wishes of all three nations which live in that republic." The Serbian president stressed that only a permanent and peaceful solution of the problems in Bosnia- Hercegovina can be realized on the basis of a consensus of the three constituent nations.

Milosevic and Hurd today discussed the continuity of Yugoslavia as well. The Serbian president said that his guest from Great Britain had spoken about Yugoslavia's great importance for the preservation of peace and successful cooperation in the region. "Everything we do as a republic, we do within Yugoslavia, and not as some kind of independent international entity. We are therefore acting as a republic within Yugoslavia and we have stressed the great importance which the creation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its institutions has with the assistance of the international community had for the resolution of the entire problem of the Yugoslav crisis."

The Serbian president expressed hope that the EC conference on Yugoslavia will continue, and that French President Mitterrand's idea to start a new conference will also be realized. "I would like to remind you that that idea is virtually the same as our proposals put forward several months ago, suggesting that the UN, and primarily the permanent members of the Security Council, be involved in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. The crisis resolution is developing in that way, and let us hope that the idea will be realized," Milosevic said.

Expressing satisfaction with the fact that an agreement on a two-week cease-fire in Bosnia-Hercegovina was reached in London yesterday, Milosevic said that Serbia "will use all its political power to ensure that the cease-fire is observed."

President Milosevic said that it was the Serbian side in Bosnia-Hercegovina who had energetically demanded an immediate and unconditional cease-fire. Prompted by a foreign reporter's question, Milosevic recalled the beginning of the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina. "Do you know how the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina started? It started with actions carried out by Green Berets and their all-out attack on the former Yugoslav People's Army and Serbian positions. Do you remember that the press published [Bosnia-Hercegovina's President] Alija Izetbegovic's order for an all-out attack? Izetbegovic said that that was a hoax. But the hoax was realized and after that the tragic civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina broke out," Milosevic said.

Talks With DEPOS Delegation

LD1707212392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1933 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—Douglas Hurd, British foreign secretary and chairman of the EC Council of Ministers, on his arrival in Belgrade today received a delegation of the Democratic Movement of Serbia

[DEPOS] that included Matija Beckovic, Slobodan Selenic, Kosta Cavoski, Vojislav Kostunica, Milan Komnenic, and Vladeta Jankovic.

DEPOS spokesman Vladeta Jankovic told TANJUG after the meeting that the DEPOS delegation was "very pleased with the talks," which lasted about 40 minutes.

"Foreign Secretary Hurd told us that the position of Serbia in the world is extremely serious and this is really the last chance to establish a genuine truce. He stressed, however, that in his view [Serbian President Slobodan] Milosevic had not changed at all, and that he would convey to him the views of the EC when they meet tomorrow," Jankovic said, quoting the British diplomat.

Jankovic particularly stressed the view of the British foreign secretary—that is, of the EC—that "the position of the Serbian minority in Croatia must be convincingly regulated if that republic wants to regain its territory."

Matija Beckovic attempted to convince Foreign Secretary Hurd, Jankovic said, of the real threat to the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the danger facing them of revanchist behavior from the other side.

"We were given an answer that indicates the understanding and goodwill of the EC in securing all necessary guarantees for the Serbs. They understand very well that if the Serbs do not receive such guarantees they will not stop fighting, and if they do not stop fighting we will continue to have what we have now," Jankovic said.

Hurd, he said, was particularly interested in what DEPOS thinks about the position of the minorities in Serbia.

"We said there should be talks with the Albanians in Kosovo and that Kosovo should have autonomy," Jankovic stressed, and he added that it is the view of the EC, as Foreign Secretary Hurd conveyed it to the DEPOS delegation, "that there is no question of any border changes."

"He confirmed to us that he would warn Tirana (Hurd is traveling to Albania on 19 July) that it should not interfere in the problem of Kosovo. Serbia, or the FRY, must for its part, in Hurd's view, enable Kosovo to have autonomy," Jankovic said, citing Hurd and stressing that he did not once mention the possibility of Kosovo becoming a republic.

According to Jankovic, Hurd also showed interest in what DEPOS thinks about Milan Panic's appointment as federal prime minister. "We said that Panic's first statements, his program, and his promises are encouraging, but we will have to see to what extent he can keep those promises and carry out his program," Jankovic stressed.

Meets Prince Karadjordjevic

LD1707225292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2157 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG)—British Foreign Secretary and President of the E.C. Council of Ministers Douglas Hurd met with Crown Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjevic here on Friday evening.

Prince Aleksandar, who has been in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia since late in June, told TANJUG after their brief meeting that he was very satisfied to meet again with the British foreign secretary.

"Hurd is deeply concerned about the situation here, that is, about the prospects of a restoration of peace and democracy. He sincerely wishes that in the future all in these territories may live in harmony and democracy," Prince Aleksandar said.

Discusses Cease-Fire With Pavle

LD1807155492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1506 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who arrived in Belgrade on a Yugoslav tour on Friday [17 July] night, conferred on Saturday with Patriarch Pavle, the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Bishop Irinej of Backa, who attended the talk, said that the hope was expressed that the ceasefire agreement signed in London on Friday by representatives of the three warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina—Serbs, Croats and Moslems—would be "the first important step towards establishing peace."

The British and Serbian sides said it was necessary to halt the bloodshed and seek generally acceptable solutions in a peaceful way, through talks, said Bishop Irinej. He added that the two sides had pointed up the need for considering the problems comprehensively, because only full insight into the truth could lead to just solutions.

"We informed Mr Hurd about what our church is doing for a peaceful solution to the crisis," said Bishop Irinej and added that the Serbian church dignitaries "hoped that Great Britain, as an ally in the last war and a country with a democratic tradition, will do everything in its power to help all."

The Serbian church has distanced itself from the present Serbian authorities and taken up the cause of the opposition, demanding the resignation of the Serbian president and government. Patriarch Pavle has invited the leaders of the Catholic Church and the Islamic community in former Yugoslavia to talks.

Montenegro

President Discusses Dispute With Croatia

LD1807220492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0717 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Zelenika, July 18 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic said on Friday [17 July] the question of Prevlaka (a cape near the Montenegrin bay of Boka Kotorska), located on the administrative border with Croatia, should be internationalized.

Following a two-day visit to the Yugoslav Navy, Bulatovic told a news conference in Zelenika he would approach the U.N. Security Council in connection with the Prevlaka problem. Montenegro, that is the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, is "ready for international arbitration" on the problem, Bulatovic added.

Prevlaka, a cape at the entrance to the Montenegrin bay of Boka Kotorska but within Croatia's administrative borders in former Yugoslavia, was used as a base of the Yugoslav Army only because of its strategic position.

Bulatovic said the question of Prevlaka was the "most vital" question of his republic and efforts to find a political solution were now intensified. However, he added, negotiations with Croatia have reached a "prospectless stage."

Bulatovic said direct contacts were planned between the commanders of the sides in the conflict in this area, near the Dubrovnik battlefront. The contacts, to be attended also by U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) representatives, are to produce a solution which would secure a "consistent compliance with Vance's peace plan," Bulatovic set out.

Commenting reports that the Army of the FR [Federal Republic] Yugoslavia is to pull out from the Dubrovnik battlefront, Bulatovic said that could not be interpreted as withdrawal. Before such a move is made, absolutely firm guarantees must be given, through UNPROFOR mediation, that the area and people living there will no longer be exposed to artillery shells, Bulatovic expalined.

The war which was forced upon us has started for this very reason, he added.

Bulatovic: FRY Capable of Protecting Citizens

LD1807220992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0742 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Zelenika, July 18 (TANJUG)—Republican Presidency President of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic said on Friday [17 July], at the close of his two day visit to the Yugoslav Navy that Yugoslavia is capable of protecting its state interests and ensuring peace and security for its citizens.

In relation to the presence of foreign warships in the Adriatic Bulatovic said at a press conference in the port of Zelenika that they have not shown any intention of violating the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

However, Bulatovic added, we must monitor developments at military and above all at international and diplomatic levels.

Bulatovic stressed that Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic's activities are aimed towards easing the military pressure.

Asked by reporters to comment provocations connected to the presence of the Sixth Fleet ships, Bulatovic replied that unfortunately a number of indications and similarities to some earlier scenarios give cause for concern, particularly the fact that the Yugoslav air force is blamed for individual incidents, even though it is absolutely certain that Yugoslav planes have not jeopardized the safety of warships monitoring the implementation of the U.N. Security Council's sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Kosovo

Rugova Comments on Serbia's 'Punitive Expeditions'

AU1907194392 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian 11 Jul 92 p 3

[Zeke Gecaj report on statement by President Ibrahim Rugova at the Kosovo Democratic Alliance news conference in Pristina on 10 July: "Kosovo at the Center of International Attention"]

[Text] Despite the Serbian regime's efforts to prevent Albanian-language education for nearly 500,000 Albanian students through the most severe means of repression, and the victims this caused, this goal has not been achieved. On the contrary, bearing in mind the circumstances under which the lessons were held, the Albanians successfully completed the school year at all levels of education. Because the Serbian police regime could not prevent this, however, it has stepped up a new campaign of violence and repression against Albanian teachers, mistreating and imprisoning teachers and leaders of the Albanian schools, alleging, according to what purport to be courts that are dominated by Serbia and the party in power in Serbia (SPS) [Socialist Party of Serbia], that the Albanians have used illegal curricula. Kosovo President Ibrahim Rugova said at yesterday's LDK [Kosovo Democratic Alliance] news conference that they are doing all this to prevent preparations for the new school year, but no matter what repression and obstacles they use, the Albanians will continue with their educations.

Punitive Expedition to Skenderaj [Srbica]

Repression against Albanian former policemen who worked at the Secretariat for Internal Affairs has particularly increased, and has been accompanied by physical mistreatment. We have the most recent case in Skenderaj Commune in Drenice, where police forces blocked a part of Kline e Poshtme [Donja Klina] village before dawn and where, apart from the mistreatment of the citizens and their removal to the police station, a young man of 20 was killed. Because of another incident in this commune, when a policeman was killed under unknown circumstances three days ago, the Serbian police have been wandering on a punitive expedition through villages of this commune, mistreating and robbing Albanians as they did in the village of Plluzhine [Pluzina] yesterday.

The trials that started in Pristina and Peje [Pec] yesterday show that the Serbian regime does not intend to abandon show trials in Kosovo. Such notorious trials are held only in communist and Bolshevik systems. The Serbian courts allege that large Albanian groups have been involved in hostile activities. According to our view, Rugova said, all this has done as a demonstration of Serbian force in Kosovo. Until now, we have considered this short-term repression, but its growth in some parts of Kosovo and in particular directions shows Serbia's desire to institute a longer-term policy of repression.

Rugova devoted part of his speech to the refugees who fled the Bosnian battlefield this week in order to ask for asylum. This situation complicates the situation in Kosovo, because Serbia wields power here and it is difficult to offer generous or institutional aid. We, as a party alongside the Party of Democratic Action and as citizens were ready to help, but the Serbian police did not allow us to do so. After observing that the situation in Kosovo is a difficult one, Rugova added that we warn Kosovo Serbs not to provoke the Albanians by incidents that could lead to violence, because there have been some cases recently in which chance incidents could have caused large-scale conflict that would be fatal for all of us in Kosovo.

Speaking on the international dimensions of the Kosovo issue, Rugova said that we again invite the United Nations and CSCE to send their observers to Kosovo or to install a kind of permanent international institution that would monitor the situation daily. I emphasize once again that one of the solutions for the Kosovo issue is the recognition of the Republic of Kosovo, its independence, and its right to independence. We witness the fact that Kosovo has been at the center of attention at European forums, such as the European Council, the summit of the Group of Seven, and at the CSCE, where Kosovo, alongside some other places in Europe, is considered as a problem requiring preventive measures by these forums in order to prevent possible conflicts. We, as the international institutions suggest, demand the start of a serious dialogue to solve the Kosovo issue, Rugova said in conclusion.

"I Speak Albanian Better Than Halit Ternavci"

In the second part of this news conference, journalists were interested in many aspects of the internal situation in Kosovo and the diplomatic activity that Rugova is conducting. They asked questions about his letter to the CSCE, the dialogue with Serbian Prime Minister Bozovic who sent an invitation to the political parties, the summit of the Group of Seven in Munich, Douglas Hurd's visit to Tirana and some cities of the former Yugoslavia, the provocations of the Serbian regime, an alleged alarm calling on the Kosovo population to be ready to fight, what is happening to the Albanians in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the refugees from former Yugoslavia in Europe, of whom a Swedish journalist said that half are Albanians.

Answering these questions, Rugova said: "I expect the CSCE summit to take our demands into consideration, and at the start of the summit to pinpoint Kosovo as the site of a crisis on the verge of eruption. I think that this time more concrete steps will be taken toward Kosovo's international recognition as well as prophylactic measures to prevent a conflict in Kosovo." He said that we will issue a communique about the dialogue with the Serbian Government, while, as for our own initiative for dialogue, we too will invite representatives of Serbia to talks, but we are in favor of prepared rather than ad hoc talks. As for the acceptability of the status suggested by the Group of Seven at their Munich summit, Rugova said that the status acceptable to us is the status defined by the referendum held last year and the 24 May elections this year. This is Kosovo's independence as a neutral state, which would of course be a good thing for the Albanian majority but also for all the other peoples who live here. This is what international institutions also prefer, but it is a question of the terminology used in diplomacy, and will also depend on the course of events in the Balkans and beyond.

As for Douglas Hurd's visit to Tirana, I greatly appreciate it, because Hurd is now chairman of the EEC. He will have the opportunity to directly acquaint himself with the problems. As he himself said, the purpose of his visit is to inspect the situation in the field. We also expect Hurd to talk to us, Rugova said.

Rugova considered the ploy involving the alarm about the alleged state of military alert of the Serbs to be highly provocative, because of the explosive situation in Kosovo.

LDK Deputy Chairman Fehmi Agani spoke about the situation of the Albanians in Bosnia-Hercegovina, saying that we do not possess complete data, but it is said that most Albanians who owned shops in the so-called Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina have had their property confiscated. People have been maltreated and massacred. It is estimated that more than 30 Albanians have lost their lives since the start of the fighting in this republic.

Drasko Redzep, the well-known author from Vojvodina, also took part in yesterday's LDK news conference. He asked Rugova whether the Albanian and international public are aware of the genocidal speech against the Albanians made by Dobrica Cosic (now president of Yugoslavia) in 1968. He began by apologizing for asking the question in Serbian, even though he spoke Albanian, he said in jest, better than Halit Ternavci [teacher of Albanian at Belgrade University, supporter of Serbian policies].

Rugova, in replying to Redzep, said that the Albanian people, especially the older generation, are well aware of Dobrica Cosic's speech and his genocidal attitude toward the Albanians. The international community also knows now that Cosic began his political career with pronounced anti-Albanianism. Of course, it is not clear what his function is, just as the status of the state he now heads is not clear. However, I must stress as a writer that I am very sorry that he has stooped so low. I say this for reasons of professional ethics. An entire galaxy of the Serbian intelligentsia has held such anti-Albanian attitudes for more than 80 years.

Macedonia

Hurd, Gligorov Meet, Discuss EC Declaration

LD1807221892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2116 GMT 18 Jul 92

[Text] Skopje, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov said after tonight's talks with UK Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd that the EC's Lisbon Declaration, which forces Macedonia to change its name as the condition for recognition, is completely unacceptable to the Macedonian nation and all nationalities living in the Republic.

Gligorov said the document is a one-sided act by the EC with no consideration for Macedonia, which achieved independence peacefully. President Gligorov also said that no government or individual has the right to force a whole nation to change its name. In that context, he noted that Macedonia's peaceful policies have contributed to the fact that war did not break out on the border with Greece. Therefore, Gligorov believes that it is not correct for that neighboring country to treat Macedonia in this way.

Gligorov also said that instead of assistance in light of the damage it suffered because it observed the blockade and the UN sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Macedonia received the order to change its name. Gligorov also said that the damage incurred because of the observance of the UN blockade has amounted to more than $1.3 billion.

Nevertheless, Gligorov believes that the Lisbon Declaration is not a final act but merely a starting position for solving the problems which have arisen around the name of a new Balkan state.

UK Secretary Hurd told a news conference after the meeting that he "once again tried to find a solution" to the Macedonian problem and confirmed that President Gligorov and Macedonian Foreign Minister Denko Maleski refused to discuss the change of the Republic's name.

Douglas Hurd left Skopje for Tirana.

President Endorses Gosev for Prime Minister

LD1707200492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 17 Jul 92

[Text] Skopje, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov today endorsed the proposal by the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia that the prime minister of the future Macedonian government should be Petar Gosev, a parliamentary deputy of this party.

Gligorov has informed Assembly President Stojan Andov of his decision.

According to the Constitution, Gosev has to propose the composition of his government to parliament within 20 days.

It has also been confirmed that the Social Democratic Alliance has secured the support of the majority of deputies in the Assembly for Gosev to form a cabinet.

Analysts of the political situation in Skopje consider that constitutional relations between the new government and the president of the republic will now be established, so there will be no room for the claims that it is a government "of the president of the republic."

It is also considered that future cooperation between the coalition government and the Assembly will proceed more smoothly.

TANJUG has learned that in talks between the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia and other parties in the Assembly, apart from the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity, it has been agreed that three ministerial posts each should go to the Reformists, the Liberals and the coalition of Albanian parties, the Party for Democratic Prosperity and the National Democratic Party, which will retain the post of vice prime minister.

The key ministries of the government are being taken over by the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia, the leading party of the government, and one ministry will go to the nonparliamentary party of Turks.

In an interview this afternoon with Macedonian radio, Gosev stated that the foreign political activities of the republic will be intensified with the aim of achieving its international recognition. The new prime minister said he would concentrate above all on the economy, but that politics is "essentially economics."

It remains for Gosev to coordinate the interests of several parties in 20 days, which to some extent, as he said, hampers him in putting together a government to his liking.

It is quite certain that in the new Macedonian government the Ministry for Information, which according to Gosev has been an unnecessary "commissariat" for the control of the media, will be abolished.